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HISTORY

OF

WOMEN.

VOL. II.

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THE HISTORY OF WOMEN,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ANTIQUITY,

TO THE

PRESENT TIME;

GIVING

Some Account of almoſt every intereſting Particular concerning that Sex, among all Nations, ancient and modern.

The THIRD EDITION,
With many Alterations and Corrections.

By WILLIAM ALEXANDER, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. DILLY, IN THE POULTRY; AND R. CHRISTOPHER, STOCKTON. MDCCLXXXII.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Delicacy and Chaſtity. Page 1.

CHAP. XVII.

The ſame Subject continued. 22

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the various Opinions entertained by different Nations concerning Women. 44

CHAP. XIX.

The ſame Subject continued. 69

CHAP. XX.

Of Dreſs, Ornament, and ſome other Methods, whereby Women endeavour to render themſelves agreeable to the Men. 111

CHAP. XXI.

The ſame Subject continued. 134

CHAP. XXII.

The ſame Subject continued. 169

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XXIII.
Of Courtſhip. 205

CHAP. XXIV.
The ſame Subject continued. 238

CHAP. XXV.
Of Matrimony. 270

CHAP. XXVI.
The ſame Subject continued. 285

CHAP. XXVII.
The ſame Subject continued. 324

CHAP. XXVIII.
The ſame Subject continued. 372

CHAP. XXIX.
Of Celibacy. 410

CHAP. XXX.
Of Widowhood. 434

APPENDIX.

CHAP. XXXI.
A ſhort view of ſome of the moſt material Laws and Cuſtoms, concerning the Women of Great Britain. 473

*** The Reader is requeſted to correct the following

E R R A T A.

Page 5 line 24, *for* notwithſtand *read* notwithſtanding.
- 63 - 5, *for* were *read* are.
- 139 - 2, *for* hundred *read* thouſand.
- 267 - 19, *for* ſymptoms *read* ſymptom.
- 281 - 11, *for* given *read* giving.
- 336 - 6, *for* clergyman *read* clergymen.
- 346 - 25, *for* Takier *read* Fakier.
- 375 - 2, *for* given *read* giving.
- 395 - 25, *for* Sumetra, *read* Sumatra.
- 399 - 25, *for* Siomeſe *read* Siameſe.
- 432 - 10, *for* become *read* became.
- 438 - 2, *after* liberty *add* to.
- 464 - 4, *for* generally *read* general.

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THE HISTORY OF WOMEN.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Delicacy and Chaſtity.

CHAP. XVI.

OF all the virtues which adorn the female character, and enable the ſex to ſteal imperceptibly into the heart, none are more conſpicuous than that unaffected timidity and ſhyneſs of manners which we diſtinguiſh by the name of delicacy. In the moſt rude and ſavage ſtates of mankind, however, this virtue has no exiſtence: In thoſe where politeneſs and the various refinements connected with it are carried to exceſs, it is diſcarded, as a vulgar and unfaſhionable reſtraint on the freedom of good breeding.

To illuſtrate theſe obſervations, we ſhall adduce a few facts from the hiſtory of man-

CHAP. XVI.

Effects of barbarity of manners.

kind. Where the human race has little other culture than what it receives from nature; the two ſexes live together, unconſcious of almoſt any reſtraint on their words or on their actions: Diodorus Siculus mentions ſeveral nations among the ancients, as the *Hylophagi* and *Icthiophagi*, who had ſcarcely any cloathing, whoſe language was exceedingly imperfect, and whoſe manners were hardly diſtinguiſhable from thoſe of the brutes which ſurrounded them. The Greeks, in the heroic ages, as appears from the whole hiſtory of their conduct, were totally unacquainted with delicacy. The Romans, in the infancy of their empire, were the ſame. Tacitus informs us, that the ancient Germans had not ſeparate beds for the two ſexes, but that they lay promiſcuouſly on reeds or on heath ſpread along the walls of their houſes; a cuſtom ſtill prevailing in Lapland; among the peaſants of Norway, Poland, and Ruſſia; and not altogether obliterated in ſome parts of the Highlands of Scotland and of Wales. In Terra del Fuego, on ſeveral places of the Gold Coaſt, in the Brazils, and a variety of other parts, the inhabitants have hardly any thing to cover their bodies, and ſcarcely the leaſt inclination

clination to conceal any natural action from the eyes of the public. In Otaheite, to appear naked, or in cloaths, are circumstances equally indifferent to both sexes: nor does any word in their language, nor any action to which they are prompted by nature, seem more indelicate or reprehensible than another. Such are the effects of a total want of culture; and effects not very dissimilar, are in France and Italy produced from a redundance of it. Delicacy is laughed out of existence as a silly and unfashionable weakness.

Effects of too much refinement.

Among people of a middle degree, or rather perhaps something below a middle degree, between the most uncultivated rusticity and the most refined politeness, we find female delicacy in its highest perfection. The Japanese are but just emerged a little above savage barbarity, and in their history we are presented by Kempfer, with an instance of the effect of delicacy, which perhaps has not been equalled in the annals of mankind. A lady being at table in a promiscuous company, in reaching for something that she wanted, accidentally broke wind backwards, by which her delicacy was so much wounded, that she immediately

State of people not too much refined, nor too much uncultivated.

CHAP. XVI.

aroſe, laid hold on her breaſts with her teeth, and tore them till ſhe expired on the ſpot. In Scotland, and a few other parts of the north of Europe, where the inhabitants are ſome degrees farther advanced in politeneſs than the Japaneſe; a woman would be almoſt as much aſhamed to be detected going to the temple of *Cloacina*, as to that of *Venus*. In England, to go in the moſt open manner to that of the former, hardly occaſions a bluſh on the moſt delicate cheek. At Paris, we are told that a gallant frequently accompanies his miſtreſs to the ſhrine of the goddeſs, ſtands centinel at the door, and entertains her with bon mots, and proteſtations of love all the time ſhe is worſhipping there; and that a lady when in a carriage, whatever company be along with her, if called upon to exonerate nature, pulls the cord, orders the driver to ſtop, ſteps out, and having performed what Nature required, reſumes her ſeat without the leaſt ceremony or diſcompoſure. The Pariſian women, as well as thoſe in many of the other large towns of France, even in the moſt public companies, make no ſcruple of talking concerning thoſe ſecrets of their ſex, which almoſt in every other country

Of thoſe too much refined.

country are reckoned indelicate in the ears of the men; nay, ſo little is their reſerve on this head, that a young lady on being aſked by her lover to dance, will, without bluſh or heſitation, excuſe herſelf on account of the impropriety of doing ſo in her preſent circumſtances. The Italians, it is ſaid, not only copy the French in theſe particulars, but ſometimes even go beyond them. When a people have arrived at that point in the ſcale of politeneſs, which entirely diſcards delicacy, the chaſtity of their women muſt be in a languiſhing ſtate; for delicacy is the centinel that is placed over female virtue, and that centinel once overcome, chaſtity is more than half ſubdued.

Delicacy more natural to the female than the male

FROM theſe obſervations, a queſtion of the moſt difficult determination ariſes. Is female delicacy natural or artificial? if natural, it ſhould be found in the higheſt perfection in thoſe ſtates were mankind approach the neareſt to nature; if artificial, it ſhould be moſt conſpicuous in ſtates the moſt artificially poliſhed. But notwithſtanding what we related in the laſt ſection, it appears to be regulated by no general or fixed law in either. The inhabitants of the coaſt of

New

CHAP. XVI.

New Zealand are perhaps as little cultivated as any on the globe, and yet their women were aſhamed to be ſeen naked even at a diſtance by the Engliſh. In Otaheite, where they are conſiderably more poliſhed, we have already ſeen that they are conſcious of no ſuch ſhame. "With the moſt innocent look," ſays Hawkeſworth, "Oberea "their queen and ſeveral others, on going "to meet another chief of the iſland, firſt "uncovered their heads, and then their "bodies as low as the waiſt. Nor can privacy," adds he, "be much wanted among "a people who have not even an idea of "indecency, and who gratify every appetite "and paſſion before witneſſes, with no more "ſenſe of impropriety than we feel when "we ſatisfy our hunger at the ſocial board." We have ſeen that in France and Italy, which are reckoned the politeſt countries in Europe, women ſet themſelves above ſhame and deſpiſe delicacy; but in China, one of the politeſt countries in Aſia, and perhaps not even in this reſpect behind France or Italy, the caſe is quite otherwiſe. No being can be ſo delicate as a woman, in her dreſs, in her behaviour and converſation; and ſhould ſhe ever happen to be expoſed in

in any unbecoming manner, ſhe feels with the greateſt poignancy the awkwardneſs of her ſituation, and if poſſible covers her face that ſhe may be not known. In the midſt of ſo many diſcordant appearances the mind is perplexed, and can hardly fix upon any cauſe to which female delicacy is to be aſcribed. If we attend however to the whole animal creation; if we conſider it attentively, wherever it falls under our obſervation, it will diſcover to us that in the female there is a greater degree of delicacy or coy reſerve than in the male. Is not this a proof that through the wide extent of the creation, the ſeeds of delicacy are more liberally beſtowed upon females than upon males? And do not the facts which we have mentioned prove, that in the human genus theſe ſeeds require ſome culture to expand, and bring them to perfection; whereas, on the other hand, too much culture actually deſtroys them altogether.

Proofs of this.

In the remoteſt periods of which we have any hiſtorical account, we find that the women had a delicacy to which the other ſex were ſtrangers. Rebecca veiled herſelf when

CHAP. XVI.

when ſhe firſt approached Iſaac her future huſband, and in thoſe ages it would ſeem that even proſtitution was too delicate to ſhew itſelf openly, for Tamar, when ſhe perſonated an harlot, covered herſelf with a veil, which appears from the ſtory to have been a part of the dreſs uſed in thoſe days by women of that profeſſion. Many of the fables of antiquity, mark with the moſt diſtinguiſhing characters, the force of female delicacy. Of this kind is the fable of Actæon and Diana. Actæon a famous hunter, being in the woods with his hounds beating for game, accidentally ſpyed Diana and her nymphs bathing in a river, prompted by curioſity, he ſtole ſilently into a neighbouring thicket, that he might have a nearer view of them. The goddeſs diſcovering him, was ſo affronted at his audacity, and ſo much aſhamed to have been ſeen naked, that in revenge ſhe immediately transformed him into a ſtag, ſet his own hounds upon him, and encouraged them to overtake and devour him. Beſides this and other fables and hiſtorical anecdotes of antiquity, their poets ſeldom exhibit a female character in its lovlieſt form, without adorning it with the graces of modeſty and delicacy; hence we may infer,

infer, that theſe qualities have not only been always eſſential to virtuous women in civilized countries, but were alſo conſtantly praiſed and eſteemed by men of ſenſibility.

PLUTARCH, in his treatiſe, entitled, *The virtuous Actions of Women*, mentions ſeveral anecdotes which ſtrongly favour our idea of delicacy being an innate principle in the female mind. The moſt ſtriking is that of the young women of Mileſia; many of whom, about that time of life, when nature gives birth to paſſions which virtue forbids to gratify, to extricate themſelves from this conflict between nature and virtue, put a period to their exiſtence. This practice becoming every day more general, was at laſt finally aboliſhed, by ordaining that the body of every one who did ſo ſhould be brought naked to the market-place, and publicly expoſed to the people; and ſo powerfully did the idea of this indelicate expoſure operate on their minds, that from thenceforth not one of them ever made an attempt on her own life.

CHAP. XVI.

Inſtances of indelicacy.

THERE are ſo many evils attending the loſs of virtue in women, and ſo greatly are the minds of that ſex depraved when they have deviated from the path of rectitude, that a general contamination of their morals may be conſidered as one of the greateſt misfortunes that can befal a ſtate, as it in time deſtroys almoſt every public virtue of the men. Hence all wiſe legiſlators have ſtrictly enforced upon the ſex a particular purity of manners; and not ſatisfied that they ſhould abſtain from vice only, have required them even to ſhun every appearance of it. Such, in ſome periods, were the laws of the Romans, and ſuch were the effects of theſe laws, that if ever female delicacy ſhone forth in a conſpicuous manner, we are of opinion it was among thoſe people, after they had worn off much of the barbarity of their firſt ages, and before they became contaminated by the wealth and manners of the nations which they plundered and ſubjected. Then it was that we find many of their women ſurpaſſing in modeſty almoſt every thing related by fable; and then it was that their ideas of delicacy were ſo highly refined, that they could not even bear the ſecret conſciouſneſs

CHAP. XVI.

ſciouſneſs of an involuntary crime, and far leſs of having tacitly conſented to it. But as the cuſtoms of all ages are conſtantly chequered with good and evil, thoſe of the women of antiquity had in them a large ſhare of the indelicacy of the times. Of this nothing can be a ſtronger proof than the practice mentioned by Moſes, of expoſing to public view the tokens of a bride's virginity on the morning after her marriage; to which we ſhall only add, the price demanded by Saul for his daughter, when he eſpouſed her to David; a price the moſt highly characteriſtic of indelicacy. The Greeks themſelves, who conſidered all the reſt of the world as barbarians, were hardly a few degrees more delicate than the inſtances juſt mentioned. It is difficult to determine whether the comedies of Ariſtophanes or Euripides are the moſt ſhocking to a modeſt ear. Martial, and even Horace, among the Romans, were ſcarcely leſs indecent, but they flouriſhed at Rome during thoſe periods, when falſe refinement had baniſhed delicacy as a ſilly and unſocial virtue; and when even law was ſo repugnant to decency, that a woman taken in adultery was proſtituted in the public ſtreet to all comers,

CHAP. XVI.

who were invited by ringing a bell to the abominable ceremony.

AFTER the ſubverſion of the Roman Empire, there aroſe among the barbarians an inſtitution, which, as it was in a great meaſure directed to the defence and protection of women, raiſed them to a dignity, and formed them to a delicacy unknown to any other age or people, and which perhaps will ever remain unparalleled in the hiſtory of mankind; unleſs chivalry or ſome ſimilar inſtitution be again revived. As chivalry began to decline, delicacy declined alſo along with it, till at laſt both ſexes aſſumed a rudeneſs of manners and of dreſs, which for ſeveral centuries diſgraced Europe.

HAVING given theſe few hiſtorical ſketches of the ſtate of delicacy among the ancients and among our European anceſtors, we proceed to obſerve, that when we leave Europe, and her colonies, we meet with few other people on the globe who cheriſh female delicacy, or regard it as an ornament to the ſex. Inſtead therefore of entering into a detail of the manners of ſuch people, we ſhall go on to make ſome remarks

remarks on the various methods of preſerving chaſtity, that cardinal virtue, to which delicacy is only an outwork.

CHAP. XVI.

Of chaſtity, and the method of preſerving it.

In every country whoſe hiſtory we have looked into, except China*, the legiſlators have conſtantly held out terrors to hinder the commiſſion of vice, but ſeldom or never offered rewards for the practice of virtue. The reaſon may be, that the vicious are few in number, and puniſhments cheap; whereas premiums are coſtly, and the virtuous ſo many, that no government can afford to beſtow a reward upon each of them. Beſides, the moral virtues not only reward us themſelves with peace of mind in this world, but have annexed to them the promiſes of a ſtill more ample reward in that which is to come. When we conſider theſe reaſons, it is not ſurpriſing to find that chaſtity, upon which all poliſhed ſtates have ſet the higheſt value, has never been encouraged by any poſitive inſtitution in its favour; while its oppoſite vice has, by every well regulated

* The Chineſe not only puniſh vice as in other countries, but to ſeveral of the more exalted virtues, they annex honorary, and even ſometimes pecuniary rewards.

govern-

CHAP. XVI.

government, been branded with a greater or leſs degree of infamy, according to the ideas which ſuch government entertained of religion, morality, rectitude, and order. But cuſtom among every poliſhed people, ſupplies the deficiency of law, and ſo orders it, that every woman who deviates from chaſtity, forfeits almoſt entirely the ſociety of her own ſex, and of the moſt worthy and regular part of ours: and, what is of infinitely greater conſequence, ſhe forfeits almoſt all chance of entering into that ſtate, which women have ſo many natural as well as political reaſons to determine them to wiſh for more than the men; and if ſhe has any ſmall degree of chance left of entering into it, ſhe muſt do it with a partner below her rank and ſtation in life; and, even thus matched, ſhe is liable to have the follies and frailties of her former conduct thrown up to her on every occaſion which gives birth to the ſlighteſt matrimonial difference.

THESE, and others of the ſame nature, are the puniſhments which refinement of manners has inflicted on the breach of chaſtity by unmarried women. We ſhall ſee afterward, that almoſt every people, whether

ther civilized or ſavage, have treated married women who commit this crime with much greater ſeverity; ſubjecting them not only to ſeveral kinds of public ſhame and indignity, but even to a variety of corporal, and often to capital puniſhments. But as every ſeverity, and every puniſhment, has been found too weak to prevail againſt the vice of incontinence; eſpecially among people of ſoft and voluptuous manners, under the influence of a warm ſun, and profeſſing a religion which lays no reſtraint upon the paſſions: the Eaſterns, where theſe cauſes moſt powerfully operate, have, time immemorial, endeavoured to ſecure the chaſtity of their women by eunuchs and confinement.

Origin of eunuchs.

At what period, or in what part of the world, ſome of the males of our ſpecies were firſt emaſculated, in order to qualify them for guarding the objects dedicated to the pleaſures of the reſt, is not perfectly known. The inſtitution of a cuſtom ſo barbarouſly unnatural, has, by ſome, been attributed to the infamous Semiramis; but we are of opinion, that it was more likely to originate from the men than the women.

CHAP. XVI.

men. Leaving therefore, the ſubject of its origin, we ſhall juſt obſerve, that all the voluptuous nations of the Eaſt have conſtantly conſidered Eunuchs as ſo envious of the joys which themſelves were incapable of taſting, that they would exert every power to hinder others from taſting them alſo; and hence have fixed upon them as the moſt vigilant guardians of female chaſtity. Nor has their choice been improperly made: For theſe wretches, loſing every tender feeling for the other ſex, and bent upon ingratiating themſelves into the favour of their jealous maſters, not only debar their fair priſoners from every ſpecies of pleaſure, but often treat them with a brutal and unnatural ſeverity.

WHILE the empires and kingdoms of the Eaſt have been perpetually tottering on their foundations, and ſubject to the moſt frequent and ſudden revolutions, the manners and cuſtoms, like the mountains and rocks of the country, have been, time immemorial, permanent and unchangeable; and, at this day, exhibit nearly the ſame appearance that they did in the patriarchal

chal ages. Nor have theſe cuſtoms in any thing remained more fixed and unalterable, than in the uſe of eunuchs. Every Eaſtern potentate, and every other perſon, who can defray the expence, employs a number of thoſe wretches to ſuperintend his ſeraglio, and guard the chaſtity of his women; not only from every rude invader, but alſo from the effects of female aſſociation and intrigue. Nor need we wonder at this, when we conſider, that into the women of this country are inſtilled no virtuous principles, to enable them to defend themſelves; that the men are taught by faſhion, and prompted by reſtraint, to attack them as often as they have opportunity; that the women may therefore be conſidered in the ſame ſituation, with regard to the men, as the defenceleſs animals of the field are to the beaſts of prey which prowl around them; and that on theſe accounts: while the preſent conſtitution of the country remains unaltered, to guard the ſex by this ſpecies of neutral beings, may not be ſo unneceſſary a caution as it appears to us Europeans, who are accuſtomed to ſuperior virtue, and to better laws.

CHAP. XVI.

Confinement of women, its origin.

THERE is in the human mind, a reluctance at ſharing with another what we think neceſſary for ourſelves, or what we greatly love and admire. Hence, perhaps, aroſe the cuſtom of fencing a field round with a ditch or wall; and hence alſo, that of ſecuring women by confinement, and guarding them by eunuchs. At what period, or in what part of the world, women were firſt put under confinement, is uncertain. We have, however, ſome reaſons to believe, they were ſo uſed among the Philiſtines as early as the patriarchal ages: and even among the patriarchs themſelves, we are told that they had apartments in the back parts of the tents, into which it would ſeem that the men, or at leaſt ſtrangers, were never allowed to enter; and to which the ſex retired when any ſtranger approached*. But though there might be ſome reſtraint upon women in theſe ages, it did certainly not amount to abſolute con-

* The Rabbies, who derive almoſt every thing from ſome fabulous ſtory, tell us, that Noah, in purſuance of directions handed down to him from Adam, took the body of that original father with him into the ark, and placed it as a barrier to ſeparate the men from the women; and that this was one of the circumſtances which gave riſe to the confinement of the ſex.

finement:

finement: for we are informed, that all ranks and conditions of them were employed in the fields, and went out of the cities in the evenings to draw water; and though ſeparate apartments were contrived in the back parts of the tents for them, as we have no account of their being confined to theſe, it is probable, that they ſerved rather as retreats for decency, than as places of impriſonment.

Such was the ſtate of women among the Iſraelites; nor do they ſeem to have wanted their liberty at this time among the Egyptians, as appears from the ſtory of the wife of Potiphar; and in a ſubſequent period, from that of Pharaoh's daughter, who was going with her train of attending nymphs to bathe in the Nile, when ſhe found Moſes among the reeds.

Were we to reaſon from principles only on the origin of female confinement, we ſhould naturally derive it from jealouſy; if we reaſon from facts, it may have ariſen from experience of the little ſecurity there was for the chaſtity of a weak and helpleſs woman, in the ages of rudeneſs and lawleſs

CHAP. XVI.

barbarity. Hence many are of opinion, that the rape of Jacob's daughter by the Sechemites induced that patriarch to cauſe all his own women and thoſe of his dependents to be ſhut up, leſt another accident of the ſame nature ſhould befal any of them. The rapes of Io and Proſerpine gave birth, perhaps, to the confinement of women among the Greeks, and ſimilar misfortunes might be followed by ſimilar conſequences among other nations. Whether the confinement of women originated from the rape of Dinah, we pretend not to determine; of this, however, we are certain, that in length of time it became a cuſtom among the Jews as well as among their neighbours. King David had his wives confined: for we are told that they went up to the houſe-top to ſee him march out againſt his ſon Abſalom, which at this day is all the liberty allowed the women of the Eaſt, when they wiſh to be indulged with the ſight of any public ſhow or proceſſion.

But though the women of kings were at this period generally ſhut up, it would ſeem that thoſe of private perſons enjoyed more

more liberty; for the ſame David ſent and brought the wife of Uriah to his houſe, which all the authority with which he was inveſted could not have done without a tumult, had ſhe been as ſtrictly guarded, and the perſons of women at that time as ſacred and inviolable in the Eaſt, as they are at preſent. When we come to the hiſtory of Solomon, we have plain accounts of a ſeraglio for the confinement of his women; and in that of Ahaſuerus, king of Perſia, we learn, that his ſeraglio was conſtituted not not only on a plan of the ſevereſt confinement, but alſo of the moſt voluptuous ſenſuality. It would be needleſs to trace this cuſtom downward to later periods, as it is well known that it became the common practice of almoſt all nations, till the Romans broke through it, and ſhowed the world that it was poſſible for the ſex to enjoy liberty and be virtuous.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The ſame Subject continued.

CHAP. XVII.

THE ſame cauſes which at firſt introduced particular manners and cuſtoms, are not always the only ones which continue or augment them; thus though ſeraglios and harams for the confinement of women probably originated from jealouſy, or from the danger of expoſing weak and defenceleſs beauty to men heated with luſt, and unreſtrained by law, they ſoon after became an article of luxury and oſtentation. The Aſiatic monarchs and grandees vied with each other in having the moſt numerous and beautiful ſet of women, which conferred upon their maſter a luſtre and dignity of the ſame nature as in Europe we ſuppoſe we obtain by a ſplendid equipage and a numerous retinue. But they carried this matter ſtill farther; they made uſe of their women to add to the long liſt of high-ſounding titles, of which the Eaſterns are ſo exceedingly fond. The king of Biſnagar, among the

the reſt of his pompous titles, is ſtiled the huſband of a thouſand wives. Were he to call himſelf *the Jailor of a thouſand Wives*, he would find the title more reconcileable to truth, though it might be leſs flattering to his vanity.

In juſtification of ſeraglios and harams it has been by ſome alledged, that they are not ſo much places of confinement as of voluntary retreat from the rudeneſs and indecorum of the men. Theſe, however, who argue in this manner muſt be but ill acquainted with the hiſtory of the Eaſt, and leſs with human nature; for we cannot ſuppoſe it conſiſtent with thoſe ideas and feelings with which we are endowed, that women ſhould voluntarily ſhut up and ſeclude themſelves from all the pleaſures of liberty, of ſocial life, and from the hope and joy of public admiration, without any other recompence than a ſmall ſhare of the favours of one man. Every human being has by nature an equal right to perſonal liberty, and none ſeem more tenacious of this right than the rude and uncultivated; it is probable, therefore, that the firſt efforts to confine women were reſiſted with all their

ſtrength

CHAP. XVII.

ſtrength and cunning; but the ſtruggle proving ineffectual, cuſtom at laſt ſtamped the ſanction of juſtice upon what was at firſt only an illegal exertion of power.

Confinement of the ſex an unlawful exertion of power.

If jealouſy was the original ſource of female confinement, when a wife really gave her huſband cauſe to be jealous, he had at leaſt a tolerable pretence for ſhutting her up; but to impriſon wives in general, becauſe ſome of them were found unfaithful, or young women in general, becauſe upon ſome few individuals a rape had been committed, was an outrage againſt juſtice. The learned Monteſquieu, in endeavouring to juſtify this outrage, ſays, "That "ſuch is the force of climate in ſubliming "the paſſions to an ungovernable height in "countries where women are confined, that "were they allowed their liberty, the attack "upon them would always be certain, and "the reſiſtance nothing." Allowing to this reaſoning all its force, does not juſtice demand, that the attacker, rather than the attacked, ſhould be confined? But we venture to affirm, though in contradiction to ſo celebrated a genius, that ſuch reaſoning is not founded on nature; for this ſo much

much dreaded attack, and this feeble re- CHAP. XVII.
ſiſtance, are neither of them altogether the
effect of climate, but of reſtraint alſo, and
would take place as well in Lapland as in
Aſia, were the ſexes there as carefully kept
aſunder, and were there no other ſecurity
for virtue but want of opportunity to be
vicious. For ſuch plainly is the diſpoſition
of human nature, that the greater the obſta-
cles thrown in the way of gratification, the
greater are the efforts to overcome them.
Hence a woman who is maſked or veiled,
more ſtrongly attracts our attention, than
one who is clothed in the ordinary man-
ner, becauſe, in the former caſe, we only
ſee a ſmall part of her charms, and creative
fancy forms the moſt extravagant idea of all
that is hid. Hence, alſo, men and women
perpetually kept aſunder are for ever brood-
ing over the joys they would have taſted in
the company of each other, and on this ac-
count, a man who rarely in his whole life
has an opportunity of being alone with a
woman, if ſuch an opportunity ſhould hap-
pen, never fails to make uſe of it by attack-
ing her virtue; whereas were he to have
frequent opportunities of this nature, his
fancy would be leſs heated, he would ſet

CHAP. XVII.

leſs value upon the ſex, and reckon them leſs the objects of temptation. Theſe inferences are much ſtrengthened by the following facts: A native of China, who lately reſided ſome years in England, acknowledged, that, for ſome time after he arrived here, he had much difficulty in reſtraining himſelf from attacking every woman with whom he was left alone; and a Nun who had eſcaped from a convent, imagined that every man who had an opportunity would aſſault her virtue, and though ſhe had no inclination to have yielded, even ſometimes felt a ſecret chagrin that ſhe was not put to the trial.

Astonishment and honeſt indignation ariſe in our breaſts, when we hear of the unlawful reſtraint that is laid on the liberty of the ſex in the Eaſt, while in Europe, we view without emotion, thouſands of hapleſs virgins every year dragged involuntarily to the altar of a convent, to vow an eternal renounciation of the pleaſures of that world which they love, and a faithful obſervance of that celibacy which they hate. If therefore, we execrate the confinement of the women of Aſia, where they are not obliged to perjure themſelves at the altar, where they

they are not loſt to the propagation of the ſpecies, what ſentiments muſt we feel when we contemplate the manner of ſhutting them up in Europe, by obliging them ſolemnly to ſwear that they will eradicate the feelings implanted in them by their creator, and glory in contributing to diſcontinue the ſpecies which he formed them to propogate? Ye legiſlators! who impoſe rules upon mankind, did ye conſider your own intereſt, you would never promulgate laws which tend to diminiſh your ſubjects; did ye liſten to the voice of humanity, ye would not deprive for ever of their liberty, beings who have committed no crime, and who equally wiſh to enjoy, and are equally intitled to it with yourſelves. Ye Prieſts! of the Roman church, who tell us that ſuch rules are the will of the divinity, whoſe laws you pretend to the ſole right of interpreting, did ye attend to the manner in which he continues the works that he has made, ye would not preſumptuouſly endeavour to perſuade us that he created man male and female, and forbad him to increaſe and multiply; did ye reflect that the dictates of nature and of reaſon militate againſt ſuch abſurdity, you would even perhaps bluſh for the arrogance of your

CHAP. XVII.

conduct towards God and man; but the time, we flatter ourselves is not far distant, when reason shall break through the trammels of priestcraft, and vindicate the rights of nature and society!

Reason of confining wives.

In civilized nations, where the principles of morality are cultivated, when a mutual compact has been entered into between a man and a woman to abide by each other, the faith of this woman, and the sense of the obligation she has laid herself under, are considered as the securities of her virtue. This compact, however, is commonly a mutual one; whereas in countries where women are confined, the compact entered into between husband and wife, if it can be called a compact, is only an act of power on the part of the husband and parents of the bride, and of passive obedience on her part. The husband, therefore, has no great reason to expect that she will pay the same regard to this compact, as if it had been made by the voluntary agreement of all parties; sensible on this account, that her mind may be differently disposed of from her body, he does all that mortal can do, he secures the latter by perpetual confinement. But this mode of

of treating women is the vileſt indignity that can be offered to human beings; it preſuppoſes them neither endowed with virtue nor free agency, and places them in the ſame point of view with an unoccupied field, which yields itſelf indifferently to the poſſeſſion of any one, who will be at the pains to ſecure and fence it. It likewiſe preſuppoſes the men to be with regard to the women, what they are to the wild beaſts of the field, abſolute maſters of every one whom they can catch and detain. Ideas which we reprobate as inconſiſtent with human nature, when not warped by cuſtom, or led aſtray by art.

In Circaſſia, Mingrelia, and ſeveral other parts of the Eaſt, the monarchs, having an abſolute power, generally take from their ſubjects by force, ſuch women as are handſome, without any regard to their rank, or their being married or ſingle. The grand Seignior has a tribute of young girls annually paid to him by the Greeks, and ſome other of his tributary provinces; theſe are placed in apartments of the palace, which are ſeparated from all intercourſe with the reſt, and are called the ſeraglio; where they are guarded in the ſtricteſt manner by eunuchs,

CHAP. XVII.

eunuchs. The gardens of this ſeraglio, which are fenced with high walls, and planted with rows of trees, to obſtruct the ſight, are the utmoſt limits to which they are allowed to go; except when ſome of them are carried along with their maſter, if he makes any excurſion, or goes to war againſt an enemy; in which caſe, they are placed in cloſe machines, on the backs of camels, and as much hid as if in the inmoſt receſſes of the ſeraglio.

Of Harams.

BESIDES the ſeraglio of the ſultan, private perſons have apartments in their houſes, called Harams, where they confine their women. The Haram is, in Turkey, as it was in ancient Greece, always in the back-part of the houſe, and all the windows of it look into the garden. The apartments of the ladies, when the huſband can afford it, are elegantly furniſhed after their manner; and they want nothing but ſociety to make life comfortable. They have numbers of beautiful female ſlaves, who divert them with vocal and inſtrumental muſic, dancing, and other amuſements. From theſe Harams, women are ſometimes ſuffered to go out, but they muſt always be veiled and covered from head to foot with a long robe, called a

ſorigee;

forigee; without which no woman of any rank is allowed to appear in the ſtreet; and which is ſo exactly alike in all, that it is abſolutely impoſſible to diſtinguiſh one woman from another. The moſt jealous huſband cannot know his own wife; and no man dare touch, or follow a woman in the ſtreet; ſo that the confinement of the women at Conſtantinople, is not ſo rigid as ſome of our travellers would make us believe.

Eaſtern women, how concealed on a journey.

In the empire of the Mogul, when the women are carried abroad, they are put into a kind of machine, like a chariot, placed on the backs of camels, or in covered ſedan chairs, ſurrounded by a guard of eunuchs, and armed men, in ſuch a manner, that a ſtranger would rather ſuppoſe the cavalcade to be carrying ſome deſperate villain to execution, than employed to prevent the intrigues or eſcape of a few defenceleſs women. At home the ſex are covered with gauze veils, which they dare not take off in the preſence of any man, except their huſband, or ſome near relation. In the greateſt part of Aſia, and ſome places of Africa, women are guarded by eunuchs, made incapable of violating their chaſtity. In Spain, where many

CHAP. XVII.

many of the natives are the deſcendants of the Africans; and whoſe jealouſy is not leſs ſtrong than that of their anceſtors; they, for many centuries, made uſe of padlocks to ſecure the chaſtity of the ſex; but finding theſe ineffectual, they had recourſe to a ſpecies of old women, who being paſt the joys of love, were on that account ſuppoſed to be incorruptible guardians of female virtue; but even againſt the watchfulneſs of theſe there was a remedy, and their care was frequently huſhed, and their ſcruples ſilenced by all-powerful gold. The Spaniards are become ſenſible of this; they, at preſent, ſeem to give up all reſtrictive methods, and truſt the virtue of their women to good principles, inſtead of rigour and hard uſage.

Various methods of ſecuring female chaſtity.

WHERE there is no public virtue to confide in, beſides the methods of Duennas, locks, eunuchs, and confinement, ſeveral others have been, and ſtill are, practiſed in different countries, to preſerve female chaſtity. Mr. More relates a ſingular method uſed for this purpoſe in the interior parts of Africa; it is a figure to which they give the name of *Mumbo Jumbo*, made of the bark of a tree, in the ſhape of a man dreſſed in a long

a long coat, with a large tuft of ſtraw on its head: into this figure, which is uſually about nine feet high, a man is introduced, who cauſes it to walk along, ſpeak what he pleaſes, or make ſuch a horrid and frightful noiſe, as he thinks will beſt anſwer his purpoſe. It is kept carefully concealed by the men, and never comes abroad but in the night, when they want to frighten the women into chaſtity and obedience. They perſuade the ſex, that it knows every thing; they refer every thing to its deciſion, and it always decides in favour of the men; but this is not all, it has a power of inflicting puniſhments on female delinquents, which it frequently does, by ordering them to be whipped. They are taught to believe, that it is particularly offended with unchaſtity; a crime which it will certainly diſcover, and as certainly puniſh. As ſoon as they hear it coming, they generally run away and hide themſelves; but are obliged by their huſbands to return, though in fear and trembling, to its preſence, and to do or ſuffer whatever it pleaſes to order them. How deſpicable muſt the underſtanding of theſe women be, if they are really thus deceived by ſo bungling a trick!

CHAP. XVII.

In almoſt all countries, where female chaſtity has been an object much regarded, ſome methods have been contrived to awaken the fears of the incontinent, as well as to flatter and reward the hopes of thoſe who perſevered in virtue; even the Jewiſh legiſlator not thinking that the poſitive laws he had enacted againſt unchaſtity, and the puniſhments he had annexed to them, were fully ſtrong to overcome every vicious inclination, inſtituted a mode of alarming their fears of a diſcovery, even when ſuch diſcovery was above the power of mortal agency: this was the waters of jealouſy, which a huſband, who ſuſpected the fidelity of his wife, obliged her, with ſome ſolemn ceremonies, to drink; and which ſhe firmly believed would make her belly to ſwell, and her thigh to rot, if ſhe was guilty. When ſuch was her belief, and when the huſband had it conſtantly in his power to put her to the dreadful trial, a barrier was thereby formed againſt unchaſtity, ſtronger than all the other laws human and divine; and yet not ſo ſtrong, but it was frequently overleaped and diſregarded.

CHAP. XVII.

WHERE jealouſy is the ruling paſſion, and the men have no ideas that the incontinence of their women can be reſtrained by principle, by the hope of reward, or the fear of puniſhment; and where the unſettled manner in which they live, does not allow them an opportunity of putting the ſex under confinement; they practiſe other methods of a moſt deſpicable and odious nature, to ſecure the body, regardleſs perhaps how much the mind be contaminated. In many places of Arabia, but particularly in that part of it called Petræa, they perform an operation upon every female infant, which renders it impoſſible for her when grown up to have any commerce with the men. In conſequence of this operation, when ſhe enters into matrimony, another is abſolutely neceſſary to reſtore her to the natural ſtate of her ſex. The ancient Germans, and ſeveral other northern nations, ſenſible that chaſtity was moſt likely to be preſerved inviolate by a decency of behaviour between the two ſexes; and ſuppoſing that this decency could not be properly maintained where familiarity was allowed, prohibited the men even from touching the women, and laid a fine upon them according

CHAP. XVII.

to the part touched. In Great Britain there were laws of this nature even ſo late as the ninth century.

It is not a little curious to ſurvey the various methods made uſe of in different parts of the world to accompliſh the ſame end. In Poland, the chaſtity of young girls is endeavoured to be ſecured by a contrivance hardly leſs ſingular, though not ſo humiliating as ſome of theſe we have now mentioned: moſt of the young women belonging to the peaſants have little bells faſtened to various parts of their cloaths, to give notice to their mothers and other female guardians where they go, that thoſe may always have it in their power to detect them, ſhould they attempt to intrigue or ſecrete themſelves from their view. Where women are no farther regarded than as the means of gratifying animal love, methods like the foregoing may be neceſſary, or at leaſt attended with little miſchief to ſociety or the peace of individuals; but where they are intended for the more exalted purpoſes of being friends and companions, they ſhould be managed in a very different manner. Locks, ſpies, and bodily reſtrictions then become

become highly improper, as they tend only to debaſe their minds, corrupt their morals, and render them deſpicable; circumſtances which ought to be guarded againſt with the utmoſt attention, becauſe where the mind is debaſed and contaminated, the body is not worth the trouble of preſerving.

In all countries where the religion of Rome is eſtabliſhed, chaſtity is endeavoured to be preſerved by the artifice of auricular confeſſion; the inſtitutors of which probably imagined, that unchaſtity was a crime which female delicacy would never allow any woman to divulge; and as damnation was infallibly annexed to concealing any crime from the father confeſſor, it was conſequently a crime which no woman would ever commit. But however well contrived this plan may appear, experience has fully demonſtrated its inſufficiency, and ſhewn that the Roman catholic women, notwithſtanding this additional impediment in the way of incontinence, are in that reſpect nearly on a footing with the reſt of their neighbours, who have no ſuch ſtumbling-block in their way.

As

CHAP. XVII.

As timidity is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing peculiarities which mark the female character, the expoſure to public ſhame is conſequently one of the moſt powerful methods of laying hold of the minds of the ſex; the laws of ſociety, as well as thoſe of religious inſtitutions, have therefore availed themſelves of it, and made it, among every poliſhed people, one of the ſevereſt parts of the puniſhment to which the female delinquent, who has departed from the path of rectitude, is expoſed; and on that account one of the greateſt obſtacles which can be thrown in the road to unchaſtity. This appears from the conduct of the women of Iceland, when the public ſhame attending incontinency was ſuſpended on the following occaſion. In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven, a great part of the inhabitants of Iceland having died of a contagious diſtemper, the king of Denmark, in order to repeople the country in a more expeditious manner than the common rules of procreation admitted of, made a law, authoriſing all young women to have each ſix baſtards, without being expoſed to any ſhame, or ſuffering the loſs of reputation. This ſucceeded beyond the expectation of the

the monarch; and the young women employed themſelves ſo ſeduouſly in the affair of population, that, in a few years, it was thought neceſſary to abrogate the law, leſt the country ſhould be overſtocked with inhabitants, and that ſenſe of ſhame annexed to unchaſtity, ſo much obliterated from the female breaſt, that neither law nor cuſtom would be able afterwards to revive it. Were it not almoſt ſelf-evident to every one, that this public ſhame attending female indiſcretion, is one of the ſtrongeſt motives to ſecure their chaſtity, we might prove it more fully from other circumſtances, but we ſhall only mention one which proves it to a demonſtration. In thoſe countries where no ſhame is annexed to any action, there is no public chaſtity; and this virtue flouriſhes the moſt, where its contrary vices are branded with the greateſt degree of infamy.

But this public ſhame is only one of the many methods which we in this country make uſe of to ſecure the chaſtity of the ſex. We call religion, policy, and honour to our aid; religion holds out in the one hand rewards of a moſt glorious nature, and puniſhments not leſs dreadful in the other. Policy

ſhews

CHAP. XVII.

ſhews how much the order, peace, and good government of ſociety are influenced by female chaſtity; and how each of them are unhinged and deſtroyed by incontinence. Honour, likewiſe, comes in as an auxiliary, and holds up to their view the luſtre and reputation which themſelves and their families derive from their decency and regularity of conduct, and the ſtain and infamy they bring upon both by lewdneſs and debauchery. Thus reſtrained by ſhame, by the loſs of ſociety, and by the forfeiting all chance of a huſband ſuitable to their rank. Thus encouraged by religion, by good policy, and honour, we truſt ſuch women as have arrived at the years of diſcretion to themſelves, and experience fully demonſtrates, that we place not our truſt improperly; and that thoſe methods are far more prevalent than locks, bars, eunuchs, and all the other barbarous expedients that have been fallen upon, by nations who have not attained to ſenſibility enough to clap the padlock on the female mind inſtead of the body. But though we ſuffer women of experience to be the guardians of their own virtue, over the young and the giddy who have not attained to that degree of reaſon requiſite for governing their

their paſſions, nor to that experience ſufficient to direct them in the choice of a huſband, cuſtom has placed mothers, and other female relations, who by time and obſervation have acquired more knowledge of the world, whereby they are enabled to ſteer their young pupils with ſafety over the dangerous rocks of youthful paſſion and inexperience.

Different methods of ſecuring chaſtity in Aſia and Europe.

The inhabitants of the ſouthern and northern regions of the globe, are in nothing more diſtinguiſhable from each other than the different methods of ſecuring the chaſtity of their women. In the ſouth, while every poſſible reſtriction is laid on the body, they hardly make uſe of one ſingle precept to bind the mind. In the north, while they lay every poſſible reſtriction on the mind, the body is left entirely at liberty; and it is remarkable, that ſcarcely any of the religious ſyſtems of the ſouth, either offer rewards to encourage chaſtity, or threaten puniſhments to deter from incontinence; while almoſt every religious ſyſtem of the north has iſſued the moſt poſitive precepts againſt the indiſcretion of the ſex, and to a diſobedience of theſe precepts annexed the moſt dreadful

CHAP. XVII.

puniſhment; even Mahometiſm, which is a compound of the religions of both hemiſpheres, terrifies not the female ſinner with hell, nor any future ſtate where ſhe ſhall ſuffer for her levities; all that ſhe has to fear on this head, is the diſpleaſure and correction of her huſband. While in the Edda, or ſacred records of the ancient Scandanivians, future puniſhments of the moſt tremendous nature are held over the head of the delinquent, "ſhe is threatened with confinement "in a place remote from the ſun, where "poiſon rains through a thouſand openings, "and a black winged dragon ſhall perpetu- "devour her." But it was not their religion only that breathed this ſpirit, the laws of almoſt all the northern nations conſtantly had the ſame intention, and not ſatisfied that their women ſhould refrain from real unchaſtity only, they would not even allow of any thing that had the ſlighteſt appearance of indecorum, or that might raiſe improper ideas in the mind.

It would be an endleſs taſk to enumerate the laws which in every well-regulated country have the ſame tendency; ſuffice it to ſay, that in all ſuch, every violent attempt

tempt on the virtue of women is punishable either by death, corporal punishment, or loss of money. It would likewise be needless, we presume, to muster before our fair readers, the various interdictions against unchastity, almost every where to be met with in the rules of the Christian religion, interdictions which none of them, we hope, are unacquainted with, and to which few only do not pay a proper regard. When we therefore consider that almost all laws, human and divine, have so strongly inculcated chastity, when the ingenuity of every nation has been so strongly exerted in preserving it, we hope we need not join our feeble efforts in recommending it to our countrywomen in particular, and to the sex in general, as the greatest ornament of their character.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the various Opinions entertained by different Nations concerning Women.

CHAP. XVIII.

Diviſion of the human genus.

THE human genus has, with no ſmall degree of probability, been divided by naturaliſts into ſeveral diſtinct ſpecies, each marked with corporeal differences, which could hardly ariſe from cuſtom or from climate, and with intellectual powers ſcarcely leſs indicative of this diviſion than the marks of their bodies. Theſe ſpecies, like thoſe of moſt other animals, are again divided into ſexes, with different ſentiments and faculties, adapted to the different purpoſes for which they were intended. So far the diſtinctions are plain; but man has carried them farther, and arrogated to his ſex, a ſuperiority of body and mind which he cannot prove himſelf poſſeſſed of; for although we find in general through the whole of animated nature, the males of every ſpecies endowed with a degree of bodily ſtrength ſuperior to the females, yet we have no plain indication of any ſuperiority conferred

CHAP. XVIII.

ferred upon theſe males in the powers and faculties of their minds. Among the brute animals we do not recollect that any one has been hardy enough to contend for this male ſuperiority; among human beings, however, it has been, and is ſtill ſo ſtrongly contended for, that we ſhall give a ſhort view of this contention, as the hiſtory of one of the moſt peculiar opinions that have been entertained concerning the ſex.

Women reckoned inferior to men among ſavages, and why.

WHETHER this ſuppoſed ſuperiority is, in civil life, owing to any arrogance inherent in male nature, or to the pride of more numerous acquiſitions, we ſhall not at preſent examine. In ſavage life we may account for it upon another principle. We have already ſeen, that among uncivilized people, bodily ſtrength was the only thing held in particular eſtimation; and women having rather a leſs portion of this than men, were on that account never ſo much eſteemed, nor rated at ſo high a value. From the body it was eaſy to make a tranſition to the mind, and ſuppoſe its powers leſs extenſible, becauſe for want of opportunities they were leſs extended; hence an inferiority, which aroſe only from circumſtances, was ſuppoſed

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CHAP. XVIII.

to have ariſen from nature, and the ſex were accordingly treated as beings of an inferior order. But in ſavage life, the difference of bodily ſtrength between the two ſexes, is much leſs viſible than in civil life. Captain Wallis informs us that Obereah, queen of Otaheite, lifted him over a marſh, when ſhe gallanted him to her houſe, with as much eaſe as he could have done a little girl; and it is probable that there is ſtill leſs difference in the faculties of the mind, and if there is any, it ariſes not ſo much from nature as from want of exertion.

Idea of the inferiority of women extremely ancient.

WHETHER the idea of female inferiority aroſe ſolely from what we have now mentioned is not altogether certain, but from whatever ſource it aroſe, we have the moſt undoubted proofs of its being ſo widely diſſeminated, that except among the Egyptians, and a few other nations, which borrowed the cuſtoms and culture of that people, it was from the moſt remote antiquity firmly eſtabliſhed among all mankind. Women were by many of the ancients bought and ſold, by ſome of them borrowed, lent, or given away at pleaſure, and by almoſt all of them conſtantly treated as the private property

property of the men; circumſtances which could not have happened had not the ideas entertained of that ſex given riſe to ſuch unmerited ſeverity. CHAP. XVIII

This idea peculiar to man.

THIS mode of treating the females of our ſpecies is a ſingularity of behaviour peculiar to man, and has not originated from any thing he could obſerve around him; for the males of the brute animals do not, ſo far as we can diſcover, ever pretend to govern, direct, or diſpoſe of their females; nor, unleſs in the ſtrength of their bodies, can we diſcern that they are any way ſuperior to them. The females of thoſe animals that hunt for prey, are as ſagacious in diſcovering and catching it as the males. The mare and the greyhound bitch, are as ſwift as the horſe or the dog, of their ſpecies. The females of the feathered kind ſeem to be univerſally more intelligent than the males, particularly in rearing and taking care of their young. Hence it appears, that we cannot have learned from analogy to conſider women as ſo much our inferiors; and if we impartially examine our claim of ſuperiority we ſhall perhaps find, that unleſs with reſpect to the corporeal powers it is but

CHAP. XVIII.

but ill-founded. But partiality and ſelf-love in this examination generally give a bias to our judgments, and a fondneſs for the purſuits and ſtudies in which we are engaged, makes us undervalue all ſuch as are directed to different ends and purpoſes, though in themſelves not leſs uſeful. Thus, men ſet the greateſt value upon the martial abilities which diſtinguiſh them in the field, or upon the literary ones which make them conſpicuous as ſtateſmen and orators, while they hardly ever conſider the excellence of female ſprightlineſs and vivacity, qualities which diffuſe gaiety and chearfulneſs around them; nor theſe pains which the ſex patiently ſuffer, and powers they exert, in raiſing up a generation to ſucceed us when we ſhall be no more. Are theſe leſs uſeful than the deſolating arts of war, or even than the ſpeculations of the ſtateſman and improvements of the philoſopher, or are the women leſs diſtinguiſhed in them than the men are in the other?

But let us take a ſtill nearer view of the matter, and we ſhall ſee that this boaſted pre-eminence of the men is at leaſt as much the work of art as of nature, and that

women

women in thoſe ſavage ſtates, where both ſexes are alike unadorned by culture, are, perhaps, not at all inferior in abilities of mind to the other ſex, and even ſcarcely inferior to them in ſtrength of body. This ſubject is, however, of the moſt difficult nature; to inveſtigate with preciſion the powers and propenſities of women, it is neceſſary to be a woman; to inveſtigate thoſe of man, it is neceſſary to be a man; to compare them impartially, to be ſomething different from either.

Comparison of the ſexes in ſavage life.

SHOULD we endeavour to inveſtigate this ſubject by conſidering man in a ſtate of civil ſociety, where, formed by art and tutored by education, he puts on appearances which he does not derive from nature, we ſhould be led into endleſs error and abſurdity. Let us therefore begin it by viewing him in thoſe ſtates that approach the neareſt to nature, where we ſhall ſee the females endowed with the ſame patient endurance of hunger, thirſt, cold, and fatigue, as the males; and where being inured from their infancy to toil, hardſhip, and a tempeſtous climate, their bodies acquire nearly the ſame firm and robuſt appearance, and become capable of efforts

CHAP. XVIII.

ſcarcely leſs arduous; and their minds, like their bodies, acquiring ſtrength by exerciſe, become not leſs intelligent, nor leſs diſtinguiſhable for ſtratagem and contrivance to catch their prey, or avoid danger. In ſuch ſtates, hunting and fiſhing are the chief employments of the men, and in theſe, when we conſider the materials they have to work with, we cannot help owning that they ſhew no deſpicable ſhare of ingenuity; proofs of which are the fiſhing-nets that our late diſcoverers found they made uſe of in the South Sea, which were much larger and better contrived than any hitherto ſeen in Europe. The fiſh-hooks which they made of ſhells and other materials, which in the hands of an European artiſt would be uſeleſs; and the various methods of decoying and ſnaring ſuch wild beaſts as they cannot otherwiſe deſtroy. Proofs of their genius may likewiſe be drawn from the manner in which they diſcover on the ground the tracks of theſe wild beaſts, or of their enemies whom they are purſuing; from their ſagacity in finding their way acroſs long and pathleſs deſerts, covered with wood, and from a variety of other circumſtances: but this ingenuity extends itſelf only to the narrow circle of hunting

hunting, fiſhing, and war, beyond which their ideas have hardly ever reached; in many places not even ſo far as to ſhelter themſelves from the weather by clothes and houſes, or to ſave any of the proviſions of a preſent hour, for a time of future ſcarcity.

Such are men in ſavage life. In conſidering women, we ſhall ſee, that in the province to which they are confined, they at leaſt equal their men in art and ingenuity. In ſome countries they have carried the art of dying certain colours to no inconſiderable degree of perfection. In others, that of making trinkets and ornaments of ſuch materials as in Europe we could not turn to any poſſible uſe. Their method of bringing up children is almoſt every where more agreeable to nature, and conſequently preferable to that of more poliſhed nations; but here their progreſs is nearly at an end; and like the men, their little ſpan of knowledge and invention is confined within a narrow circle, which from the beginning of time, like the ſea, has had its "*hitherto ſhalt thou "come, but no farther.*"

CHAP. XVIII.

On comparing the aggregate of the corporeal and intellectual powers of the two ſexes in ſavage life, the difference will appear much leſs than it generally does on a ſuperficial view. Though in the hunting, fiſhing, and warlike excurſions of the men, there appears a conſiderable ſhare of art and ingenuity, yet theſe are in a ſtationary condition, and time immemorial have been taught by fathers to their ſons, without the ſons ever having deviated from the road chalked out by their fathers, or thinking of adding any improvements to what they perhaps conſidered as already perfect. Though, in dying, and making of trinkets, as practiſed by the women, there is alſo an appearance of art, we have not the leaſt doubt, that they are rather cuſtomary operations, which have for many ages been performed without the ſmalleſt improvement or variation, this we the more readily believe, when we conſider, that in many places the domeſtic employments and œconomy of ſavages, is nearly the ſame as in the patriarchal ages.

Share of each ſex in progreſſive improvement.

When, from ſavage life, we proceed to conſider the ſhare that each ſex has had in the progreſs of theſe improvements, which lead

lead to civilization, it appears, that each, in its proper ſphere, has contributed nearly, in an equal proportion, to this great and valuable purpoſe. The Egyptians aſcribed the invention of many valuable medicines to Iſis, and conſecrated her goddeſs of health. The art of ſpinning, one of the moſt uſeful that ever was invented, is, by all antiquity, aſcribed to women: the Jews give it to Naamah, the daughter of Lamech; the Egyptians give the honour of it to Iſis; the Chineſe, to the conſort of their emperor Yao. This, and the art of ſewing, an art hardly leſs neceſſary, the fables and traditions of almoſt all nations aſcribe to the fair ſex. The Lydians aſcribed them to Arachne; the Greeks to Minerva; the ancient Peruvians to Mama-Oella, wife to Manco-capac, their firſt ſovereign; and the Romans gave the invention, not only of ſpinning and ſewing, but alſo of weaving, to their women. Such, and perhaps many others of a ſimilar nature, were the contributions of female genius towards the utility and convenience of life; contributions which at leaſt equal, if not rival, whatever has been done by the boaſted ingenuity of man.

CHAP. XVIII.

When we ſurvey the vaſt continents of Africa and America, where almoſt every thing but fiſhing and hunting devolves on the women, we there ſee paſturage and agriculture, with the other arts which contribute to the convenience of life, in the ſame rude ſtate in which they were in the days of Homer; the arts and ſciences hardly known, letters totally diſregarded, and domeſtic œconomy extremely rude and imperfect. Such, in general, is the condition of all countries, where almoſt every thing is left to the management of their women. But even this is no abſolute ſign of their inferiority, or want of genius; they are here taken out of that ſphere, which nature marked out for them, and introduced into another, to which ſhe neither adapted their talents nor abilities. And we may with equal reaſon blame the men for not improving the arts of ſpinning, and of nurſing; as the women for not improving agriculture and the other arts, to which male talents and abilities only are adapted.

When from theſe countries we turn towards Europe, where almoſt every thing is managed and directed by the men, a different

ferent ſcene preſents itſelf: there we not only find a great variety of improvements, but a laudable ſpirit of emulation, a thirſt after new diſcoveries, univerſally prevailing: and frequently producing freſh acquiſitions to the ſtock of knowledge, and to the conveniences of life. Theſe, at firſt view, ſeem plain indications, that the genius of men, in leading the human ſpecies from an uncultivated to a cultivated ſtate, is ſuperior to that of women; but, on more deliberate conſideration, they prove no more than that each ſex has its particular qualities, and is fitted by the Author of nature for accompliſhing different purpoſes.

What we have now advanced, points out to us one reaſon, why women have ſeldom or never contributed to the improvement of the abſtract ſciences: but there is ſtill another reaſon; the ſex are almoſt every where neglected in their education, every where in ſome degree ſlaves; and it is well known, that ſlavery throws a damp on the genius, clouds the ſpirits, and takes more than half the worth away. The hiſtory of every period, and of every people, preſents us with ſome extraordinary women, who

CHAP. XVIII.

who have ſoared above theſe diſadvantages, and ſhone in all the different characters, which render men eminent and conſpicuous. Syria furniſhes us with a Semiramis, Africa with a Zenobia; both famous for their heroiſm and ſkill in government. Greece and Rome, with many who ſet public examples of courage and fortitude; Germany and England have exhibited queens, whoſe talents in the field, or in the cabinet, would have done honour to either ſex; but it was reſerved for Ruſſia, in the perſon of the preſent Empreſs, to join both theſe illuſtrious talents together, and to add to them, what is ſtill more noble, an inclination to favour the ſciences, and reſtore and ſecure the natural rights of her ſubjects; rights which almoſt every other ſovereign has endeavoured to deſtroy.

Difference of the ſexes in civil life accounted for.

We have juſt now ſeen, that, in ſavage life, the ſexual difference, as far as it regards ſtrength and activity of body, is not very conſiderable; as ſociety advances, this difference becomes more perceptible; and in countries the moſt poliſhed, is ſo conſpicuous as to appear even to the ſlighteſt obſerver. In ſuch countries, the women are,

qualities

in general, weak and delicate; but theſe qualities are only the reſult of art, otherwiſe they would uniformly mark the ſex, however circumſtanced; but as this is not the caſe, we may attribute them to a ſedentary life, a low abſtemious diet, and excluſion from the freſh air; nor do theſe cauſes ſtop here; their influence reaches farther, and is productive of that laxity of the female fibres, and ſenſibility of nerves; which, while it gives birth to half their foibles, is the ſource alſo of many of the finer and more delicate feelings, for which we value and admire them; and of which, bodies of a firmer texture, and ſtronger nerves are entirely deſtitute. However parodoxical this may appear to thoſe who have not attended to the ſubject, we ſcruple not to affirm, that want of exerciſe, confined air, and low diet, will ſoon reduce, not only the moſt robuſt body, but the moſt reſolute mind, to a ſet of weakneſſes and feelings ſimilar to theſe of the moſt delicate and timorous female. This being the caſe, we lay it down as a general rule, that the difference of education, and of the mode of living, are the principal cauſes of the corporeal and mental differences, which diſtinguiſh the ſexes from each other;

CHAP. XVIII.

other; and we perſuade ourſelves, that nature, in forming the bodies and the minds of both ſexes, has been nearly alike liberal to each; and that any apparent difference in the exertions of the ſtrength of the one, or the reaſonings of the other, are much more the work of art than of nature.

Female inferiority deduced from a wrong ſtandard.

We know it is a generally eſtabliſhed opinion, that in ſtrength of mind, as well as of body, men are greatly ſuperior to women; an opinion into which we have been led, by not duly conſidering the proper propenſities, and paths chalked out to each by the Author of their nature. Men are endowed with boldneſs and courage, women are not; the reaſon is plain, theſe are beauties in our character, in theirs they would be blemiſhes. Our genius often leads us to the great and the arduous. Theirs to the ſoft and the pleaſing. We bend our thoughts to make life convenient. They turn theirs to make it eaſy and agreeable. Would it be difficult for women to acquire the endowments allotted to us by nature? It would be as much ſo for us to acquire thoſe peculiarly allotted to them. Are we ſuperior to them in what belongs to the male character? they are no leſs

leſs ſo to us in what belongs to the female. But whether are male or female endowments moſt uſeful in life? This we ſhall not pretend to determine; and, till it be determined, we cannot decide the claim, which men or women have to ſuperior excellence. But to purſue this idea a little farther; Would it not be highly ridiculous to find fault with the ſnail, becauſe ſhe is not as ſwift as the hare, or with the lamb, becauſe he is not ſo bold as the lion? Would it not be requiring from each an exertion of powers that nature had not given, and deciding of their excellence, by comparing them to a wrong ſtandard? Would it not appear rather ludicrous to ſay, that a man was endowed only with inferior abilities, becauſe he was not expert in the nurſing of children, and practiſing the various effeminacies, which we reckon lovely in a woman? Would it be reaſonable to condemn him on theſe accounts? Juſt as reaſonable is it, to reckon women inferior to men, becauſe their talents are in general not adapted to tread the horrid path of war, nor to trace the mazes and intricacies of ſcience. Horace, who is by all allowed to have been an adept in the knowledge of mankind, ſays, "In vain do we endeavour

CHAP. XVIII.

CHAP. XVIII.

"to expel what nature has planted." And we may add, In vain do we endeavour to inſtil what ſhe has not planted. Equally abſurd is it to compare women to men, and to pronounce them inferior, becauſe they have not the ſame qualities in the ſame perfection.

We ſhall finiſh this ſubject, by obſerving, that if women are really inferior to men, they are the moſt ſo in nations the moſt highly poliſhed and refined; there, in point of bodily ſtrength, for the reaſons already aſſigned, they are certainly inferior; and ſuch is the influence of body upon mind, that to their laxity of body we may fairly trace many, if not all the weakneſſes of mind, which we are apt to reckon blemiſhes in the female character. Thoſe who have been conſtantly bleſſed with a robuſt conſtitution, and a mind not delicately ſuſceptible, may laugh at this aſſertion as ridiculous; while thoſe, in whom accidental weakneſs of body has given birth to nervous feelings, with which they were never before acquainted, will view it in another light. But there is a further reaſon for the greater difference between the ſexes in civil than in

ſavage

ſavage life, which is, the difference of education; while the intellectual powers of males are gradually opened and expanded by culture, in a variety of forms: thoſe of females are commonly either left to nature, or, which is worſe, warped and biaſſed by fantaſtical inſtruction, dignified by the name of education. To this reaſon we may add another: Men, every where the legiſlators, have every where preſcribed to women, rules, which inſtead of weaker natures, and leſs governable paſſions, require natures more perfect, and paſſions more under ſubjection; and becauſe women have not always obſerved theſe rules, the men have reckoned them weak, wicked, and irreſtrainable in their purſuit of ſenſual gratifications.

Other opinions reſulting from the idea of female inferiority.

THIS idea of the inferiority of female nature, has drawn after it ſeveral others the moſt abſurd, unreaſonable, and humiliating to the ſex. Such is the pride of man, that wherever the doctrine of immortality has obtained footing, he has entirely confined that immortality to his own genus, and conſidered it as a prerogative much too exalted for any other beings. And in ſome countries, not ſtopping here, he has alſo conſidered it as a diſtinction

CHAP. XVIII.

diſtinction too glorious for women. Thus degrading the fair partners of his nature, he places them on a level with the beaſts that periſh. When, or where this opinion firſt began, is uncertain. It could not, however, be of very ancient date; for the belief of immortality never obtained much footing till it was revealed by the Goſpel. As the Aſiatics have time immemorial conſidered women only as inſtruments of animal pleaſure, and objects of ſlavery, it probably originated among them, which we the more firmly believe, when we conſider, that the Mahometans, both in Aſia and in Europe, are ſaid, by a great variety of writers, to entertain this opinion. Lady Montague, in her Letters, has oppoſed this general aſſertion of the writers concerning the Mahometans, and ſays, that they do not abſolutely deny the exiſtence of female ſouls, but only hold them to be of a nature inferior to thoſe of men, and that they enter not into the ſame, but into an inferior paradiſe prepared for them on purpoſe. We pretend not to decide the diſpute between Lady Montague and the other writers, whom ſhe has contradicted, but think it poſſible that both may be right; as the former might be the opinion

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the Turks brought with them from Aſia; the latter, as a refinement upon it, they may have adopted by their intercourſe with the Europeans.

THIS opinion, that women were a ſort of mechanical beings, created only for the pleaſures of the men, whatever votaries it may have had in the Eaſt, has had but few in Europe; a few, however, have even here maintained it, and aſſigned various and ſometimes laughable reaſons for ſo doing: among theſe, a ſtory we have heard of a Scots clergyman is not the leaſt particular. This peaceable ſon of Levi, whoſe wife was a deſcendant of the famous Xantippe*, in going through a courſe of lectures on the Revelations of St. John, from that abſtruſe writer imbibed an opinion, that the ſex had no ſouls, and were incapable of future rewards and puniſhments. It was no ſooner known in the country that he maintained ſuch a doctrine, than he was ſummoned before a preſbytery of his brethren, to be dealt with according to his delinquency. When

* Xantippe was the wife of Socrates, and the moſt famous ſcold of antiquity.

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CHAP. XVIII.

he appeared at their bar, they aſked him, If he really held ſo heretical an opinion? He told them plainly that he did. On deſiring to be informed of his reaſons for ſo doing, "In the Revelations of St. John the Divine," ſaid he, "you will find this paſſage;" "And "there was ſilence in heaven for about the "ſpace of half an hour:" "Now I appeal "to all of you, whether that could poſſibly "have happened had there been any women "there? And ſince there are none there, "charity forbids us to imagine that they are "all in a worſe place; therefore it follows, "that they have no immortal part; and "happy is it for them, as they are thereby "exempted from being accountable for all "the noiſe and diſturbance they have raiſed "in this world."

Some tribes of the Aſiatic Tartars are of the ſame opinion with this reverend gentleman. "Women," ſay they, "were ſent into "the world only to be our ſervants, and "propagate the ſpecies, the only purpoſes "to which their natures are adapted;" on this account their women are no ſooner paſt child-bearing, than believing that they have accompliſhed the deſign of their creation, the

the men no farther cohabit with, or regard them. The ancient Chineſe carried this idea ſtill farther; women, according to ſome of them, were the moſt wicked and malevolent of all the beings which had been created; and it is ſaid that their great philoſopher Confucius adviſed, that on this account they ſhould always be put to death as ſoon as paſt child-bearing, as they could then be of no farther uſe, and only contributed to the *diſturbance* of ſociety. Ideas of a ſimilar nature ſeem to have been at this time generally diffuſed over the Eaſt*; for we find Solomon, almoſt every where in his writings, exclaiming againſt the wickedneſs of women; and in the Apocrypha, the author of the Eccleſiaſticus, is ſtill more illiberal in his reflections: "From garments," ſays he, "cometh a moth, and from women wickedneſs." Both theſe authors, it is true, join in the moſt enraptured manner to praiſe a virtuous woman, but take care at the ſame

* In a very ancient treatiſe, called the Wiſdom of all Times, aſcribed to Huſhang, one of the earlieſt kings of Perſia, are the following remarkable words "The paſſions of men, may, by long acquaintance "be thoroughly known, but the paſſions of women are inſcrutable; "therefore they ought to be ſeparated from men, leſt the mutability "of their tempers ſhould infect others."

CHAP. XVIII.

time to let us know, that ſhe is ſo great a rarity as to be very ſeldom met with.

Illiberal reflections on the ſex.

NOR have the Aſiatics alone been addicted to this illiberality of thinking concerning the ſex. Satiriſts of all ages and countries, while they flattered them to their faces, have from their cloſets moſt profuſely ſcattered their ſpleen and ill-nature againſt them. Of this the Greek and Roman poets afford a variety of inſtances; but they muſt nevertheleſs yield the palm to our doughty moderns. In the following lines, Pope has outdone every one of them:

"Men ſome to pleaſure, ſome to buſineſs
" take,
'But every woman is at heart a rake."

Swift and Dr. Young have hardly been behind this celebrated ſplenetic in illiberality. They perhaps were not favourites of the fair, and in revenge vented all their envy and ſpleen againſt them. But a more modern and accompliſhed writer, who by his rank in life, by his natural and acquired *graces*, was undoubtedly a favourite, has repaid their kindneſs by taking every opportunity of exhibiting them in the moſt contemptible

temptible light. "Almoſt every man," ſays he, "may be gained ſomeway; almoſt every "woman any way." Can any thing exhibit a ſtronger caution to the ſex? It is fraught with information, and we hope they will uſe it accordingly.

In the illiberal ideas entertained of female inferiority, the Americans ſeem ſcarcely leſs remarkable than any of the people we have now mentioned; both ſexes are exceedingly fond of diving into the ſecrets of futurity, and perſuade themſelves, or at leaſt, the credulous part of their neighbours, that they are no inconſiderable adepts in foretelling them. Their intelligence is always ſuppoſed to be received from ſpirits, and it is worth obſerving, as it ſtrongly marks their mean opinion of the ſex, that the men according to their ideas, conſtantly receive their intelligence from good and benevolent ſpirits, and the women from wicked and malicious ones. Another thing which not leſs ſtrongly marks this opinion is, that every thing which they ſuppoſe would diſgrace a man, muſt be done by a woman. We have already given ſeveral inſtances of this, and ſhall only add another: Such of

CHAP. XVIII.

their priſoners of war, as bear the torments inflicted on them with heroical inſenſibility, are generally at laſt diſpatched by the men; thoſe that have not done ſo, unworthy of falling by the hands of a man, are always diſpatched by the women; an indignity which they ſuppoſe they have merited by their puſillanimity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The ſame Subject continued.

CHAP. XIX.

Opinions concerning the intercourſe of the ſex with inviſible beings.

BESIDES the opinions which have been entertained of women, in conſequence of their ſuppoſed inferiority, there is one ſcarcely leſs ancient or leſs univerſal, which has originated from a very different ſource; and ſuppoſes the ſex always to have been peculiarly addicted to hold a communication with inviſible beings, who endowed them with powers ſuperior to human nature; the exerciſe of which has been diſtinguiſhed by the name of witchcraft.

THAT a notion of this kind prevailed in an early period of the world, we learn from the ſtory of Saul the firſt king of Iſrael, who went to conſult the witch of Endor concerning his fate, and that of the war in which he was engaged. From that time downward, both ſacred and prophane hiſtory make it plainly appear, that this belief of witches, or dealers with familiar ſpirits, *as they are called*, was almoſt univerſally diſſeminated over

CHAP. XIX.

over the whole world; inſomuch that we are hardly acquainted with the hiſtory of any people, either ancient or modern, among whom it has not gained ſome degree of credit. Even the inhabitants of the ſequeſtered iſlands in the South Sea, who have not, perhaps, from the beginning of time, had any communication with the reſt of mankind, have imbibed the general opinion; as we may learn from ſeveral anecdotes, in the voyages lately publiſhed by Hawkſworth and others.

In our times this ſuperſtitious idea of witchcraft is moſt prevalent, among people who are the leaſt cultivated. In ſome periods of antiquity, the reverſe ſeems to have been the caſe; for the Greeks, even in their moſt flouriſhing and enlightened ſtate, were almoſt in every circumſtance the dupes of it; and the Romans following their example were, perhaps, ſtill more ſo. Nothing either ſportive or ſerious, trifling or conſequential, was undertaken in Greece or Rome, without the performance of ſome ſuperſtitious ceremonies, reckoned abſolutely neceſſary to inſure its ſucceſs.

All

CHAP. XIX.

ALL the ancient inhabitants of the North paid the greateſt regard both to the perſons and dictates of ſuch women as were reckoned witches, and the opinion they entertained of the exiſtence of ſuch beings was tranſmitted down to their poſterity, who, after the conqueſt of the Roman Empire, had peopled all Europe; but the doctrines of chriſtianity, which were now introduced, changed the veneration for witches into the utmoſt hatred and deteſtation; and inſtead of the honours that were formerly heaped upon them, ſuch unhappy beings as were now ſuſpected of that crime, became ſubject to the moſt horrid barbarities that a blinded legiſlature and a furiouſly enthuſiaſtic populace could inflict.

Idea of witchcraft intimately connected with old women.

HOW the original idea of witches was at firſt ſuggeſted to mankind is not eaſily accounted for; it is ſtill more difficult to aſſign a reaſon, why this idea was in all ages ſo intimately connected with women, and particularly with old women. The witch of Endor is introduced as an old woman, and in every ſubſequent period, hiſtorians, painters, and poets, have all exhibited their witches as old women. Nor can we without pain

CHAP. XIX.

pain relate, that a majority of thoſe unhappy creatures condemned a few centuries ago in all the criminal courts of Europe, were old women. Might we hazard a conjecture on this ſubject, we would ſuppoſe that in the earlier ages of the world, while women were only kept as inſtruments of animal pleaſure, and only valued while they had youth and beauty, as ſoon as theſe were over, they were deſerted by ſociety, and left to languiſh in ſolitude; where, by reflection and experience they acquired a wiſdom, which made them more conſpicuous than the ignorant crowd from which they had been exiled, and gave birth to a notion, that they were aſſiſted by inviſible agents.

Origin of the ideas of witchcraft.

THIS may in ſome meaſure explain to us the origin of the idea of witches, ſo far as it relates to old women, but leaves the origin of the general idea ſtill involved in the ſame obſcurity. We flatter ourſelves, however, that ſome light may be thrown even on the general idea, by the following obſervations. We are told by ſcripture, that in the earlier periods of the world, a communication between celeſtial and human beings was not uncommon. God appeared

to

to our firſt parents in the garden of Eden; the angels came to Lot, to warn him of the deſtruction of Sodom; to Abraham, to intimate to him the birth of a ſon in his old age; and Moſes is ſaid to have ſeen God face to face, when he received from him the tables upon the mount. Nor was this opinion peculiar to the Iſraelites, the gods of the other nations were ſaid almoſt conſtantly to live with them, to appear in a familiar manner and communicate their orders to them, and even to beget children upon their women. Thus Oſiris deſcended from heaven to reign in Egypt, where, having taught the arts of civil life, he at laſt left behind him a progeny of demi-gods. Bacchus taught mankind the uſe of the grape, and Ceres, *a female divinity*, inſtructed them in the uſe of corn; even Jupiter, their ſupreme deity, repeatedly came down to the earth, and cohabited with their women. When ſuch were the ideas generally diſſeminated, that good beings of all denominations frequently appeared to, and communicated ſome of their knowledge and power to mortals, it was but carrying them one ſtep farther, and ſuppoſing that evil beings, likewiſe did the ſame thing. Nor does this ſeem

CHAP. XIX.

altogether conjecture, for mention is made in the ſacred writings of evil ſpirits, who had their falſe prophets, to whom they dictated lies, in order to lead to deſtruction thoſe who liſtened to them. Thoſe who were ſuppoſed to communicate with good beings were called prophets, and thoſe who communicated with evil ones, witches, wizzards, &c.

Why women were thought more addicted to witchcraft than men.

SUCH poſſibly might be the origin of witchcraft, and ſuch the reaſons why old women were moſt commonly ſuſpected of it. But it ſtill remains to be conſidered why the ſex in general were thought to have been more addicted to it than the men. The reaſons of this alſo may, perhaps, be diſcovered in the different habitudes and cuſtoms of the two ſexes. From the remoteſt antiquity, the men inured to hunting, fiſhing, and paſturage, were conſtantly abroad in the open air; they were conſequently healthful and robuſt, and not ſubject to theſe nervous weakneſſes and ſpaſmodic fits which ſo ſtrongly characteriſe modern ages, and have often been ſuppoſed the effect of witchcraft. The women, on the contrary, of a more delicate frame, more confined by their domeſtic

domeſtic employments, by the jealouſy of their huſbands and relations, and, perhaps, even more ſimple in their diet, would be much more ſubject to nervous weakneſſes, and all the uncommon appearances that ſometimes attend them. In the paroxyſms of theſe nervous diſorders, they would frequently utter the moſt ſtrange and incoherent language, and as the ancient manner of conveying inſtruction and predicting future events, was commonly in this unconnected allegorical ſtrain, accompanied with extraordinary geſtures and contorſions of the body, ſuch rhapſodical effuſions, the mere effect of nervous irritability, might be eaſily miſtaken for the inſpiration either of good or of evil beings, and therefore women, being more ſubject to ſuch fits than men, might be more commonly denominated propheteſſes, or witches, according to the nature of the ſpirit with which it was ſuppoſed they were agitated.

All antiquity full of the ideas of witchcraft.

As the ſacred writings ſo frequently mention witches, wizzards, and dealers with familiar ſpirits, we might from thence imagine that ſuch ideas exiſted among the Jews only; were not the other writings of anti-

CHAP. XIX.

quity every where as full of them, a circumſtance we cannot wonder at, when we conſider that ſuch ideas were much more favoured by the polytheiſm of the Gentiles, than by the belief of one Supreme Almighty Being, taught by the Jews. Among the Gentiles alſo, as well as among the Jews, it is probable there were female enchantreſſes, though we do not recollect to have met with any account of them till we come to the Greeks, who exhibit them every where in their fables and their hiſtory, as beings poſſeſſed of the moſt aſtoniſhing and ſupernatural powers. Medea is ſaid to have taught Jaſon to tame the brazen-footed bulls, and the dragons which guarded the golden fleece. Hecate, and ſeveral others are ſaid to have been ſo ſkilful in ſpells and incantations, that, among their other feats, they could turn the moſt obdurate hearts to love, as we ſhall have occaſion to mention afterward in our hiſtory of courtſhip. Circe, we are told, detained even the ſage Ulyſſes in her enchanted iſland, and transformed his ſailors into ſwine. Beſides theſe, there were many others who, like the witches of our modern times, could inflict diſeaſes, raiſe tempeſts in the air, and ride on the clouds from one country

country to another. Nor were the Romans leſs the dupes of this pretended art than the Greeks; the whole of their hiſtorians and poets are full of the follies and abſurdities to which it reduced them; Horace frequently mentions a Canidia, who was reckoned a moſt powerful enchantreſs; and Virgil makes one of his ſhepherds declare, that ſuch was the power of charms, that they could draw down the moon from the ſky. But the Romans were not the only people of antiquity who carried their ideas thus far, the Babylonians boaſted that all the contingencies of fate were in their hands, and that by their magical ceremonies, they were able to avert every evil, and procure every good. Doctrines of a nature not much diſſimilar appear to have been ſpread over other countries in the Eaſt; for about Calcutta they formerly conſulted ſorcerers concerning the deſtiny of their children, and if the prediction promiſed happineſs they were ſpared to live, but if the contrary, they were put to death as ſoon as born. The Japaneſe at this day pay the moſt unlimited credit to ſorceries, incantations, lucky and unlucky days, and publiſh every year an almanac, pointing them out to the public, leſt upon

CHAP. SIX.

upon the unlucky ones they ſhould tranſact any buſineſs, which they imagine in that caſe could not poſſibly proſper.

The ancient northerns remarkable for their belief in witchcraft

ALMOST every ignorant people are the dupes of ſuperſtition, which in nothing diſplays itſelf more evidently than in fruitleſs attempts to become acquainted with the ſecrets of futurity; hence the Greeks and Romans, and perhaps all antiquity, were fond of conſulting oracles, and perſons ſuppoſed to be inſpired with a power of divination. But the northern nations much exceeded all others, and carried this ſpirit to the moſt unaccountable length. The Scandanivians, Germans, Gauls, Britons, &c. were of all people perhaps the moſt ignorant, and of all, the greateſt ſlaves to ſuperſtition; their Druids and Druideſſes exerciſed an authority over them, which even the moſt abſolute monarch of the preſent times would not dare to attempt; but not to thoſe only did they yield an implicit obedience, they obeyed, eſteemed, and even venerated every female who pretended to deal in charms and incantations, and the dictates of ſuch, as they were ſuppoſed to come from the inviſible powers,

were

were more regarded than the laws of nature, of humanity, or of their country. Velleda, a ſorcereſs, in the Batavian war, governed in the name of the deity, the fierceſt nations of Germany, and effectually ſecured their obedience by this ſuperſtitious veneration. The women, when in the field, conſulted omens, and as they were proſperous or adverſe, ordered the armies to engage their enemies, or to delay it till another time. Nay, ſome of them were even worſhipped as divinities, and altars with inſcriptions to their honour, have been lately found in Germany and in Britain. The life of their warriors was ſuch as ſecured them a firmneſs of nerves, and freedom from nervous hypochondriac diſorders: their women being more ſubject to them by nature, and by their manner of life, were, in all their fits, conſidered as inſpired by ſome divinity, and regarded accordingly.-----Women in the North have almoſt ſolely appropriated to themſelves the trade of divination, men have had the largeſt ſhare of it in the South, the reaſon is, men in the South are, by the climate and their low diet of rice and fruit, ſubject to all the diſeaſes of women, and women are precluded from all communication with the public.

AMONG

CHAP. XIX.

AMONG the ancient inhabitants of the North, nothing was held ſo ſacred as poetry and divination. A troop of poets, called Bards, commonly attended on the great; not to grace their train, but in the effuſions of frantic doggerel, to celebrate their exploits, and praiſe their victories. Beſides theſe, there were generally in the train of the rich and powerful ſome venerable propheteſſes, who directed their councils, and to whom they paid a deference and reſpect, at preſent almoſt incredible; but theſe very beings whom they ſo much venerated, in proceſs of time became the objects of hatred and deteſtation, and were condemned to whips, horſe-ponds, flames, and every ſpecies of cruelty that miſguided zeal could inflict. Upon a change ſo important in manners and behaviour, the following conſiderations will, we hope, throw ſome light.

Reaſons why mankind changed their opinion of witches.

EVERY ſyſtem of theology, from the beginning of time, was filled with the doctrine of a communication between celeſtial and terreſtrial beings. The Jewiſh religion was remarkably full of it: the Jews, therefore, greatly venerated ſuch human beings as they thought were thus dignified with the correſpon-

correſpondence of ſpiritual eſſences. The polytheiſm of the Gentiles, their different ranks and degrees of gods, and the few degrees of diſtinction between their gods and their heroes, made it no great wonder, that this communication among them was ſtill ſuppoſed to be more common. Among the Jews it would ſeem, that ſome ſmall degree of inferiority was affixed to thoſe who were ſuppoſed to draw their knowledge of future events from evil ſpirits; but among moſt of the neighbouring nations, they had hardly any ſuch diſtinction as evil and good ſpirits; they had indeed *Dii Infernales*, or infernal gods; but they made ſo little difference between theſe infernal gods and their celeſtial ones, that they paid to each of them almoſt an equal ſhare of worſhip and adoration; hence thoſe who foretold events, by a communication with the one kind, were hardly leſs eſteemed, than thoſe who foretold them by a communication with the other. But when the Chriſtian religion was introduced, it made ſuch a diſtinction between good and evil ſpirits, that the trade of predicting by the ſuppoſed aſſiſtance of the latter, became not only diſhonourable, but criminal. Every one who pretended to that trade, was de-

CHAP. XIX.

nominated witch, or wizzard; and againſt all ſuch, the obſolete Jewiſh law, which ſays, *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a witch to live*, was revived; and the ſame profeſſion, which we have before ſeen raiſing prophets and propheteſſes to the higheſt veneration and dignity, now ſubjected them to flames and a variety of other puniſhments.

Cruelities exerciſed on ſuppoſed witches.

FROM the twelfth to the ſixteenth century, almoſt all Europe was one ſcene of highly ridiculous opinions; to maintain which, kings led forth their armies, piouſly to cut the throats of their neighbours; and prieſts condemned to the flames in this world, and threatened eternal fire in the world to come. Many of thoſe opinions were, however, but local; and many ſunk into oblivion with the authors who firſt broached them; but the notion of females being addicted to witchcraft had taken deep root, and ſpread itſelf over all Europe. It had been gathering ſtrength from the days of Moſes; and it ſubſiſted till the enquiring ſpirit of philoſophy, demonſtrated by the plaineſt experiments, that many of thoſe things which had always been ſuppoſed the effect of ſupernatural, were really the effect of natural

natural cauſes. No ſex, no rank, no age, was exempted from the ſuſpicions of, and puniſhments inflicted on the perpetrators of this ſuppoſed crime; but old women were, of all other beings, the moſt liable to be ſuſpected of it. Poets had delineated, and painters had drawn all their witches as old women, with haggard and wrinkled countenances, withered hands, and tottering limbs; theſe, which were only characteriſtic ſymptoms of old age, had, by an unhappy aſſemblage of unconnected ideas, become alſo the characteriſtic ſymptoms of witchcraft. Hence every old woman, bowed down with age and infirmity, was commonly dubbed with the appellation of witch; and when any event happened in her neighbourhood, for which the ignorance of the times was not able to account, ſhe was immediately ſuſpected as the cauſe; and in conſequence committed to jail by an ignorant magiſtrate, and condemned by as ignorant a judge. Or what, perhaps, was worſe than either, made the ſport of a ruffian multitude, heated by enthuſiaſm, and led on by folly; which a few centuries ago ran to ſuch a pitch of extravagance, that in Livonia, and ſome other parts of the North, it is ſaid, that not

CHAP. XIX.

many women who had arrived at old age were ſuffered to die peaceably in their beds, but were either hurried to an untimely execution, or ſo much abuſed by a licentious populace, that death was frequently the conſequence.

But the ſuſpicions of witchcraft were not altogether confined to age and poverty; neither the bloom of youth and beauty, nor the dignity of rank could afford any ſafety. In France, England, and Germany, ladies of the higheſt quality were condemned to the ſtake for crimes of which it was impoſſible they could be guilty. But when crimes are either highly improbable or altogether impoſſible, the proof required to be brought againſt thoſe who are ſuppoſed to have committed them, is on that account generally ſuſtained as valid, though much leſs clear than in other caſes. Thus it was with witchcraft, while it required ſome degree of rational and conſiſtent evidence, to aſcertain any other crime, this was aſcertained by idle and ridiculous tales, or, in ſhort, by any ſhadow of evidence whatever. Such being the caſe, ſtateſmen often availed themſelves of witchcraft,

as

as a pretence to take off perſons who were obnoxious to them, and againſt whom no other crime could be proved. This was the pretence made uſe of for condemning the Maid of Orleans, well known in the hiſtory of England and of France; who, by her perſonal courage, and the power ſhe aſſumed over the minds of a ſuperſtitious people, by perſuading them that Heaven was on their ſide, delivered her country from the moſt formidable invaſion which had ever threatened its ſubverſion. Such was the pretence for deſtroying the Dutcheſs de Conchini; who, being aſked by her judges, What methods ſhe had practiſed to faſcinate the Queen of France? boldly replied, "Only "by that aſcendency which great minds have "over little ones." Nothing was too abſurd in theſe times to gain credit; and proofs only became the more valid as they were the more ridiculous. Under Manuel Comnenus, one of the Greek emperors, an officer of high rank at Conſtantinople, was condemned for practiſing ſecrets that rendered men inviſible. And another had like to have ſhared the ſame fate, becauſe he was caught reading a book of Solomon's, the bare peruſal of which, they ſaid, was ſufficient to conjure

CHAP. XIX.

conjure up whole legions of devils. The Dutchefs of Glouceſter, with Mary Gurdemain, and a prieſt, were accuſed of having made a figure of Henry VI. in wax, and roaſting it before the fire; though the action itſelf was ridiculous, and though there was no proof of it, nor poſſibility of the conſequences which they imagined had ariſen from it, they were all three found guilty; the prieſt was hanged, Gurdemain was burnt in Smithfield, and the Dutchefs condemned to penance and perpetual impriſonment. The Duke of Glouceſter, who was regent to Edward V. ſhewed an emaciated arm in the council-chamber; and his really having an arm withered, was deemed a ſufficient proof, not only that it was done by ſorcery, but that the ſorcerers were the wife of his brother, and Jane Shore. To what a low ebb was human reaſon reduced, when from ſuch premiſes it could draw ſuch concluſions!

For ſeveral ages, during the times we are now conſidering, every jail in Europe was filled with ſuppoſed criminals, every tribunal with judges and proſecutors blinded by ignorance, fired with the moſt intemperate zeal, and

and eager to vie with each other in extirpating crimes which it was utterly impoſſible to prove; and what is not a little ſurprizing, they conſidered even the exiſtence of theſe crimes, as a proof of the validity of the faith which they profeſſed. They reproached the Turks, becauſe they had neither ſorcerers nor witches; and aſſerted that their having no devils to caſt out, was a proof of the falſity of their religion. To contemplate ages ſo blind and barbarous; to hold up to view the horrid deeds tranſacted in them, is the moſt diſagreeable part of that taſk which a regard for truth impoſes on the hiſtorian: truth, however, obliges us to relate, that there have been in Europe one hundred thouſand ſuppoſed witches, condemned to all the excruciating tortures with which inſatiate fury could inflict death. Ignorance and miſguided zeal, plead ſome excuſe for the times in which man ſo fooliſhly deſtroyed his ſpecies; but the frenzy did not altogether diſappear with the ignorance that gave birth to it. Many hapleſs wretches ſuffered for pretended crimes, even after reaſon and philoſophy had made no inconſiderable progreſs. So late as the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-eight

CHAP XIX.

eight, an old woman in Wurtſburgh, was condemned for witchcraft, and burnt, by a people who boaſted that they had trampled ſuperſtition under their feet, and plumed themſelves on the reformation of their manners and their religion.

Decline of witchcraft and its cauſes.

SUCH was the condition of women in Europe for ſeveral centuries, conſtantly liable to be accuſed of, and puniſhed for, crimes which had no exiſtence; till philoſophy at laſt came to reſcue them from their danger, by diſſipating the gloom of ignorance which had for ages enveloped the human mind; and teaching men to prefer reaſon to opinion, however the latter might be ſanctified by time, or ſtrengthened by the celebrated names from which it had originated. But the ſtruggle between reaſon and opinion was not the ſtruggle of a day or a year, it laſted for ſeveral ages, and is not at this hour completely decided.

WHAT reaſon and philoſophy had atchieved in Europe, was accompliſhed in America by ſhame and remorſe. In the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, ſome of the moſt gloomy bigots of ſeveral nations, to avoid

avoid the perſecutions to which they were ſubjected by the intolerant ſpirit of the times, had emigrated to the inhoſpitable deſerts of America; theſe carried along with them into that New world, the ſame ideas of ſorcery which they had imbibed in Europe, and the ſame intolerant ſpirit from which they had fled. Though they had accounted it exceedingly hard, that in their native country they were perſecuted for religious opinions, yet they ſoon impoſed the ſame hardſhips upon others, from which they themſelves had fled with ſo much horror; and had but juſt begun to breathe from a cruel perſecution againſt the Quakers and Anabaptiſts, when a new ſuppoſitious danger alarmed their fears, and ſet the whole country of New England in a ferment. A clergyman in Salem had two daughters, one of whom falling into an hyſteric diſorder, attended with convulſions, the father concluded ſhe was bewitched. An Indian maid-ſervant was ſuſpected of the crime; and ſo often beat and otherwiſe cruelly treated by her wrong-headed maſter, that ſhe at laſt confeſſed herſelf guilty, and was committed to priſon; from whence, after a long confinement, ſhe was at laſt releaſed to be ſold for a ſlave.

CHAP. XIX.

THE idea was now ſtarted; every ſimilar complaint was ſuppoſed to proceed from a ſimilar cauſe, and the affected, naturally accuſed thoſe who were real or ſuppoſed enemies. Every evil that befel the human body, was in a little while aſſerted to be the effect of witchcraft. Every enemy to the afflicted was accuſed, and every accuſation certainly proved. In default of rational proof, an evidence called *ſpectral*, and never before heard of, was admitted; on the validity of which, many were condemned to ſuffer death. The moſt common, and moſt innocent actions of life, were now conſtrued to be magical ceremonies. Every one, filled with horror, and diffident of his neighbours, was forward to accuſe all around him. Neither age, ſex, nor character, afforded the leaſt protection. Women were ſtripped in the moſt ſhameful manner to ſearch for magical teats. Scorbutic or other ſtains on the ſkin, were called the devil's pinches; and theſe pinches afforded the moſt undeniable evidence againſt the wretch upon whom they were diſcovered. But if any thing was wanting in evidence, it was amply ſupplied by the confeſſion extorted by tortures, of ſo cruel a nature, and ſo long continuance, that they

they forced the unhappy ſufferers to acknowledge themſelves guilty of whatever their tormenters choſe to lay to their charge. Women owned various and ridiculous correſpondencies with infernal ſpirits, and even that ſuch had frequently cohabited with them. Nor were the wretches under torture more preſſed to diſcover their own guilt than that of others; when it frequently happened, that, unable to give any account of real criminals, they were forced by torture to name people at random, who being immediately taken up, were treated in the ſame manner, and obliged, in their turn, to name others, not more guilty than themſelves.

The frenzy was now become univerſal, the neareſt ties of blood, and the moſt ſacred friendſhips, were no more regarded. The gibbets every where exhibited to the people their relations and their neighbours hanging as malefactors. The cities were filled with terrror and amazement, and the priſons ſo crowded, that executions were obliged to be made every day, in order to make room for more of the ſuppoſed criminals. Magiſtrates who refuſed to commit to jail, and juries which brought in a verdict

CHAP. XIX.

of acquittance, were on that account ſuſpected and accuſed. Accuſations were alſo brought at laſt againſt the judges themſelves, and the torrent had reached even to the palace of the governor, when, *a general pauſe enſued.* Conſcious of his dangerous ſituation, every man trembled on looking around him, and every man reſolved to ceaſe from proſecuting his neighbour, as the only method of procuring his own ſafety. Shame and remorſe aroſe from reflection. Reaſon reſumed the reign, and the ſtorm which had threatened a total depopulation of the country ſubſided at once into peace. In this paroxyſm expired a ſpirit which for time immemorial had been a ſcourge to the human race, and particularly to that fair part of it whoſe hiſtory we are delineating.

Poſſeſſion by devils, conjectures on its cauſe.

ANOTHER opinion nearly related to that which we have now been diſcuſſing, and ſcarcely, perhaps, leſs ancient, is the poſſeſſion by devils. This through a long ſucceſſion of ages had been conſidered as common to both ſexes, and conſequently not falling properly within our plan. But as the prieſts of the Romiſh church have adopted, and ſtill maintain it now, when it is nearly exploded by

by every other ſet of men, and as they al- CHAP. XIX.
moſt entirely confine it to women, we ſhall give a ſhort account of it.

So delicate is the ſenſibility, or rather irritability, of the female conſtitution, that the ſex are thereby ſubjected to ſeveral diſeaſes, whoſe ſymptoms and appearances are more extraordinary than thoſe with which the men are commonly afflicted. Such, it is highly probable, were thoſe diſeaſes which in the New Teſtament are called the poſſeſſion by devils, and from perſons thus affected, when they were healed by our Saviour, devils were ſaid to be caſt out.

Every one who has had an opportunity of ſeeing diſeaſes of the ſpaſmodic kind, muſt have been ſenſible that perſons ſo affected, frequently exert a force which at other times they are totally incapable of. Hence, in ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition, it is no great wonder that ſuch exertions, and ſuch ſymptoms of torture as accompanied them, were attributed to the agency of evil ſpirits, who were ſaid to have entered into, and tormented the unhappy ſufferers. But medical philoſophers, beginning to throw aſide

CHAP. XIX.

aſide every prejudice, and attach themſelves only to truth, at laſt diſcovered, that ſymptoms which had formerly been ſuppoſed to ariſe from the agency of malevolent ſpirits, in reality aroſe from natural cauſes; and this doctrine, as being more conſonant to reaſon, as well as confirmed by obſervation, was at laſt pretty generally received. But as every improvement of the human underſtanding is attended with inconveniency to thoſe that fatten upon human ignorance, the prieſts of the Romiſh religion, arrogating to themſelves the ſame powers as the author of chriſtianity; had always pretended to caſt out devils; and being aware that if there were no devils to caſt out, their revenue and reputation would not only be diminiſhed, but an inſtrument of managing the people and ſupporting their own power would alſo be wreſted out of their hands, they ſtrongly oppoſed this new doctrine as impious and diſcordant to the ſcripture. To carry on the farce with the greater probability, they carefully ſought out ſuch women as were endowed with a cunning ſuperior to the reſt of their ſex, and bribed them to declare themſelves poſſeſſed, that they might have the credit of diſpoſſeſſing them, and thereby

ſhewing

ſhewing to the world, that it had been miſled by a belief of natural cauſes, and that they actually derived from their great maſter, a power over the legions of darkneſs. To render this ſcheme the more complete, they laboured to inſtil a notion into mankind, that as evil ſpirits were no doubt ſo intelligent as to underſtand every language, thoſe poſſeſſed by them were alſo endowed with the ſame gift. Women, therefore, who feigned this poſſeſſion, were taught by the prieſts appointed to exorciſe them, anſwers to ſuch queſtions in ſeveral languages, as they ſhould aſk them. The multitude, when they thus obſerved women whom they knew to be without education, ſpeaking a variety of languages, were convinced that it was really the devil who ſpoke out of them.

Tricks of the prieſts concerning poſſeſſion diſcovered and expoſed.

THOUGH the populace were deluded by this trick, yet the ſenſible part of mankind ſtill ſilently depiſed the authors of ſuch an impoſition on human credulity; but as in Catholic countries nothing is more dangerous than contradicting or finding fault with the church, it was long before any one had the hardineſs openly to attack this palpable abſurdity; ſuch an attack was, however, at laſt

CHAP. XIX.

laſt ſucceſsfully made by a phyſician in Sardinia. "A young girl in Turin being "troubled with hyſteric fits, the Jeſuits "flocked about her, with a phyſician in their "intereſt, who declared that ſhe was poſ- "ſeſſed. Exorciſts were aſſembled, and the "girl inſtructed how to carry on the farce. "The affair made ſo much noiſe, that one "of the court phyſicians, prompted by cu- "rioſity, went to ſee her, and publicly de- "clared that her caſe was not ſupernatural. "The Jeſuits accuſed the Doctor of infi- "delity, and offered to confute him from "the teſtimony of his own ſenſes. The "Doctor accepted the challenge, and aſked "the girl in Engliſh (a language which "neither of the Jeſuits underſtood) what "was his name; ſhe anſwered in Piedmon- "teſe, that ſhe did not underſtand the queſ- "tion. The Jeſuits, extremely mortified, "pretended he had put an unlawful queſtion "to her, and they had forbid the devil to "anſwer any of that kind. The Doctor "then aſked the ſame queſtion in Piedmon- "teſe, but as he was not known to the "poſſeſſed ſhe could not anſwer him. The "Doctor ran in triumph to court with the "news of his ſucceſs. The king was highly

"pleaſed

" pleaſed at it; and the prince, further to
" try the knowledge of this Jeſuitual devil,
" gave the Doctor a Chineſe pſalter, with a
" commiſſion to return back, and aſk the girl
" the contents, and in what language it was
" written. The Jeſuits threatened that they
" would order the devil to expoſe all the
" tranſactions of the Doctor's life. The
" Doctor laughed at the threatening, and
" challenged the devil to begin his recital,
" which if he did not, he would brand him
" and all who favoured his poſſeſſion, as
" knaves and fools. The Jeſuits enraged,
" were going to turn the Doctor to the door,
" when he ſhewed them the pſalter and the
" commiſſion from the prince, ordering the
" poſſeſſed to declare in what language it was
" written. The Jeſuits pretended the cha-
" racters might be diabolical. The Doctor
" replied, that ſo ſcandalous a ſuſpicion was
" violating the reſpect due to their prince.
" The Jeſuits ſaid that a long ſeries of prayer
" and devotion was neceſſary to introduce an
" affair of this nature. The Doctor replied,
" he would aſſiſt them in both. No ſubter-
" fuge being left, they began their ceremo-
" nies, and having finiſhed them, ordered
" the poſſeſſed to anſwer all interrogatories.

CHAP. XIX.

" The pſalter was then laid before her, ſhe
" ſcreamed, deſired it might be taken away,
" and declared ſhe could not bear the ſight of
" it. At laſt, however, after being hard pre-
" ſed, ſhe ſaid the characters were Hebrew;
" and that it contained a blaſphemous writing
" againſt the Trinity. The Doctor, after
" telling them how ignorant their devil was,
" returned to court, and gave an account
" of what had happened. The two Jeſuits
" were baniſhed; the phyſician made a pub-
" lic recantation; the parents of the girl were
" forbid, on pain of being ſent to the gallies,
" ever to mention the affair as a diabolical
" poſſeſſion; the girl recovered her health;
" and thus ended an impoſture, with ſo much
" diſcredit, that it put an end to all thoſe
" ideas of ſorceries, witchcrafts, and ſatani-
" cal poſſeſſions, with which the minds of
" the people were infected.

As this triumph over prieſtcraft was only local; and as the multitude are ſtill prone to believe what they do not underſtand; the clergy, in ſome places, ſtill continue to propagate the doctrine of evil ſpirits entering into female bodies, and keeping poſſeſſion of them till properly exorciſed by the church; an

an opinion, long ſince, totally eradicated in Proteſtant countries, and only laughed at in ſecret by the ſenſible of the Romiſh faith.

Ideas of witchcraft ſimilar to each other in every part of the globe.

BEFORE we take our leave of this ſubject it may not be improper to obſerve, that the notions of witchcraft, and of poſſeſſion, have not only been univerſal among mankind, but have had almoſt the ſame ideas every where annexed to them. In Hindoſtan, an old woman, who had taken upon her the name and character of a witch, raiſed a rebellion againſt her ſovereign; and to draw the multitude to her ſtandard, ſhe circulated a report, which was eagerly credited, that on a certain day of the moon, ſhe always cooked in the ſkull of an enemy, a meſs, compoſed of owls, bats, ſnakes, lizards, human fleſh, and other horrid ingredients, which ſhe diſtributed to her followers; and which they believed had a power not only of rendering them void of fear, but alſo of making them inviſible in the day of battle, and ſtriking terror into their enemies. Would not one ſuppoſe ſhe had read the hiſtories of Greece and Rome, and the plays of Shakeſpear?

CHAP. XIX.

Other disadvantageous ideas of women.

BESIDES the opinions which have been already mentioned, it has been alleged againſt women, that they are incapable of attending to, or at leaſt deaf to reaſon and conviction. This, however, we venture to affirm, is an error of partiality, or inattention; for the generality of women can reaſon in a cool and candid manner on any ſubject, where none of their intereſts or paſſions are concerned; but ſuch appears to be the acuteneſs of the female feelings, that wherever paſſion is oppoſed to reaſon, it operates ſo ſtrongly, that every reaſoning power and faculty is, for a time, totally ſuſpended. The ſame thing, in a leſſer degree, happens to men; and the only difference between the ſexes, in this particular, ariſes from the different degrees of feeling and ſenſibility.

WOMEN have likewiſe been charged by the men with inconſtancy, and a love of change. However juſtly this may characterize them in their purſuit of the faſhions and follies of the times, we are of opinion, that in their attachments to the men, it is falſe. The fair ſex are, in general, formed for love; and ſeem impelled by nature, to fix that paſſion on ſome particular object;

as

as a lover, huſband, or children; and for want of theſe, on ſome darling animal. So ſtrong is this peculiarity of female nature, that many inſtances have been known, where nuns, for want of any other object, have attached themſelves to a particular ſiſter, with a paſſion little inferior to love; and hiſtory affords many inſtances of women, who, in ſpite of reaſon, reflection, and revenge, have been inviolably attached to the perſon of their firſt raviſher; though they hated, and had been ruined by his conduct.

Women endowed with courage in circumſtances where it is neceſſary.

Among all the ſignatures of the inferiority of women, few have been more inſiſted on, than the want of that courage and reſolution ſo conſpicuous in the men. We have already given it as our opinion, that this is no defect in their character; as the Author of nature has, for the moſt part, placed them in circumſtances which do not demand theſe qualities; and when he has placed them otherwiſe, he has not with-held them. This is remarkably verified by the generality of women in ſavage life, where the countries are infeſted with wild beaſts, and the men, for days and weeks together, abroad on their hunting excurſions; in which intervals

CHAP. XIX.

intervals the ſex, liable to be attacked by beaſts of prey, and other enemies, would be in a miſerable ſituation, were they the ſame weak and timid animals they are in poliſhed ſociety.

AMONG the Eſquimaux, and ſeveral other ſavage people, the women go out to hunt and fiſh along with the men. In theſe excurſions, it is neceſſary for them not only to have courage to attack whatever comes in their way, but to encounter the ſtorms of a tempeſtuous climate, endure the hardſhips of famine, and every other evil, incident to a wandering life and an unhoſpitable country. In ſome places, where the woods afford but little game for the ſubſiſtence of the natives, and they are, conſequently, obliged to procure that ſubſiſtence from the ſtormy ſeas which ſurround them, women hardly ſhew leſs courage, or leſs dexterity, in encountering the waves, than men. In Greenland, they will put off to ſea in a veſſel; and in a ſtorm, which would make the moſt hardy European tremble. In many of the iſlands of the South Sea, they will plunge into the waves, and ſwim through a ſurf, which raiſes horror in the moſt dauntleſs ſailor of our hemiſphere.

hemiſphere. In Himia, one of the Greek iſlands, young girls, before they be permitted to marry, are obliged to fiſh up a certain quantity of pearls, and dive for them at a certain depth. Many of the other pearl fiſheries are carried on by women, who, beſides the danger of diving, are expoſed to the attacks of the voracious ſhark, and other ravenous ſea-animals, who frequently watch to devour them.

Courage is acquired like mechanics.

Should it be objected here, that this kind of courage is only mechanical or cuſtomary, we would aſk ſuch objectors, Whether almoſt all courage is not of the ſame nature? Take the moſt undaunted mortal out of the path which he has conſtantly trod, and he will not ſhew the ſame reſolution. A ſailor, who unconcernedly ſteers his bark through the moſt tremendous waves, would be terrified at following a pack of hounds over hedge and ditch upon a ſpirited horſe, which the well-accuſtomed jockey would mount with pleaſure, and ride with eaſe. A ſoldier, who is daily accuſtomed to face death, when armed with all the horrors of gun-powder and ſteel, would ſhrink back with reluctance from the trade of gathering cider

CHAP. XIX.

eider down, as practiſed by the ſimple peaſants of Norway, who, for this purpoſe, let themſelves down the moſt dreadful precipices by means of a rope. A thouſand other inſtances might be adduced to prove this truth; but as many of them muſt have fallen under the obſervation of every one, we ſhall not enlarge upon them.

That ſavage women are more generally endowed with courage than thoſe in civil life, appears evident from what we have now mentioned, as well as from the whole hiſtory of mankind; yet it does not from thence follow, that thoſe in civil life are leſs conſpicuous for it, when it is required by the circumſtances in which they are placed. And though it is not our intention to give a minute hiſtory of every female, who, throwing aſide the ſoftneſs of her ſex, has ſignaliſed herſelf in ſcenes of deveſtation and fields of blood, we think it incumbent on us to give a few inſtances, to ſhew how far the ſex have been enabled to exert courage when it became neceſſary.

In ancient and modern hiſtory, we are frequently preſented with accounts of women

CHAP. XIX.

Inſtances of female courage and conduct.

men, who, preferring death to ſlavery or proſtitution, ſacrificed their lives with the moſt undaunted courage to avoid them. Apollodorus tells us, that Hercules having taken the city of Troy, prior to the famous ſiege of it celebrated by Homer, carried away captive the daughters of Laomedon, then king. One of theſe, named Euthira, being left with ſeveral other Trojan captives on board the Grecian fleet, while the ſailors went on ſhore to take in freſh proviſions, had the reſolution to propoſe, and the power to perſuade her companions, to ſet the ſhips on fire, and to periſh amidſt the devouring flames. The women of Phœnicia met together before an engagement which was to decide the fate of their country, and having agreed to bury themſelves in the flames, if their huſbands and relations ſhould be defeated; in the enthuſiaſm of their courage and reſolution, they crowned her with flowers who firſt made the propoſal. Many inſtances occur in the hiſtory of the Romans, of the Gauls, and of other nations in ſubſequent periods; where women being driven to deſpair by their enemies, bravely defended their walls, or waded through fields of blood to aſſiſt their countrymen,

CHAP. XIX.

and free themſelves from ſlavery or from raviſhment. Carracalla having taken priſoners ſome German women, inhumanly offered them the ſad alternative of being put to the ſword, or ſold for ſlaves. They unanimouſly made choice of the former. Diſappointed in his view of gain, he ordered them to be led to the market; but his diſappointment was doubled when he found that they all had the courage to prefer death to ſlavery. The hiſtory of Arabia affords ſeveral inſtances of the fortune of a battle having been reſtored by the women, after the men had fled. This was remarkably the caſe on the field of *Yermouk*, where the Greeks and Arabians decided the fate of Syria. The Grecians, much more numerous than the Arabians, began the onſet with ſuch irreſiſtable impetuoſity, that they drove their antagoniſts to their tents, there, the women ſtopped them, and alternately encouraging and reproaching them, threatened to join the Greeks; but finding the men diſheartened, and even one of their braveſt officers diſpoſed for flight, a lady knocked him down with a tent pole, calling out to the reſt "Advance, "and Paradiſe is before your face, fly, and "the fire of hell is at your backs;" then turning

turning towards the enemy, ſhe, with the other women, led on the men to renew the combat, and obſtinately maintained it till night obliged both armies to deſiſt; the next day they renewed it again, and by their valour at laſt intirely routed and diſperſed the Greeks, with the loſs, it is ſaid, of one hundred and fifty thouſand killed, and half that number taken priſoners. Such heroic efforts are beauties even in the character of the ſofter ſex, when they proceed from neceſſity; when from choice, they are blemiſhes of the moſt unnatural kind, indicating a heart of cruelty, lodged in a form which has the appearance of gentleneſs and peace. We therefore praiſe not the noble ladies of Genoa, who fired with an intemperate zeal for recovering the Holy Land, joined in the tumultuary cruſades that went againſt it, and perhaps added to the crimes of theſe lawleſs devotees; who thought that becauſe they were fighting for Jeſus Chriſt on earth, they might break the eternal laws he had made in heaven.

WERE we to deſcend to particulars, we could give innumerable inſtances of women, who, from Semiramis to the preſent time,

CHAP. XIX.

have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their courage. Such was Penthefilia, who, if we may credit ancient ſtory, led her army of viragoes to the aſſiſtance of Priam, king of Troy; Thomyris, who encountered Cyrus, king of Perſia; and Thaleſtris, famous for her fighting, as well as for her amours with Alexander the Great. Such was Boadicea, queen of the Britons, who led on that people to revenge the wrongs done to herſelf and her country by the Romans. And in later periods, ſuch was the Maid of Orleans, and Margaret of Anjou; which laſt, according to ſeveral hiſtorians, commanded at no leſs than *twelve* pitched battles. But we do not chuſe to multiply inſtances of this nature, as we have already ſaid enough to ſhew, that the ſex are not deſtitute of courage when it becomes neceſſary; and were they poſſeſſed of it, when unneceſſary, it would diveſt them of one of the principal qualities for which we love, and for which we value them.---No woman was ever held up as a pattern to her ſex, becauſe ſhe was intrepid and brave; no woman ever conciliated the affections of the men, by rivalling them in what they reckon the peculiar excellencies of their own character.

ALTHOUGH

CHAP. XIX.

Women in ſome countries reckoned ſuperior to men.

ALTHOUGH from what we have related it appears, that an opinion has been pretty generally diffuſed among mankind, that the female ſex are in body and in mind, greatly inferior to the male; yet that opinion has not been ſo univerſal as to exclude every exception; for whole nations in ſome periods, and ſome individuals in every period, have held a contrary one. We have already given ſome account of the veneration in which the ancient Egyptians held their women; a veneration which ſeems at leaſt to have continued to the days of Cleopatra. We have ſeen other nations placing the fountain of honour in the ſex, and others again valuing every ſingle woman at the rate of ſix men. We have ſeen the Germans admitting them to be preſent at, and to direct their councils. The Greeks, Romans, and ancient Britons, conſecrating them to the ſacred function of miniſtring at the altars of their gods. We have ſeen the inſtitution of chivalry raiſing them almoſt above the level of mortality. But in Italy, even in a period when chivalry had nearly expired, we find them riſen in the opinion of the men, to a height at which they never arrived before. In Rome, when it became ſo venal, that every

CHAP. XIX.

every thing could be purchaſed for money, it was no uncommon thing for the wives or miſtreſſes of the rich and opulent to be deified after death. In modern Italy, this ridiculous dignity was conferred upon Joan of Arragon, while living, by the accademy of the Dubbioſi, in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-one. Upon her ſiſter, the Marchioneſs de Gauſt, they likewiſe conferred the title of a divinity; and propoſed building a temple, in which they ſhould both be worſhipped together. But ſome of the accademicians obſerving, that two deities, eſpecially of the feminine gender, would probably not agree together in the ſame temple; it was at laſt reſolved, that the Marchioneſs ſhould be worſhipped by herſelf, and that to her ſiſter, Joan of Arragon, ſhould be erected a temple, of which ſhe ſhould have the ſole poſſeſſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of Dreſs, Ornament, and ſome other Methods whereby Women endeavour to render themſelves agreeable to the Men.

CHAP. XX.

THE mutual inclination of the ſexes to each other, is the ſource of many of the uſeful arts, and perhaps of all the elegant refinements; by conſtantly exerting itſelf in ſtrenuous endeavours to pleaſe; to be agreeable, and to be neceſſary, it gives an additional flavour to the rational pleaſures, and multiplies even the conveniences of life.

Obligations of the ſexes to each other.

IN the articles of convenience and neceſſity, we have greatly the advantage over the women, who, naturally rely on us for whatever is uſeful and whatever is neceſſary. In the articles of pleaſure and of refinement, they have as much the advantage of us, and we as naturally look up to them as the ſource of our pleaſures, as they do to us as the ſource of their ſuſtenance and their fortunes. Beſides the advantages of being ſo neceſſary

CHAP. XX.

neceſſary to the women on account of procuring them convenience and ſubſiſtence, men have a thouſand ways of ingratiating themſelves into the favour of the ſex, and may practiſe them all with openneſs and freedom; whereas, women muſt endeavour to work themſelves into our affections by methods ſilent and diſguiſed; for, ſhould the maſk be thrown off, their intentions would not only be fruſtrated, but the very attempt would fix upon them the character of forwardneſs, and want of that modeſty which cuſtom has made ſo eſſential a part of female excellence. Nothing appears more evident, than that we all wiſh women to be agreeable, and to inſinuate themſelves into our favour, but then we wiſh them to do ſo by nature, and not by art; or at leaſt that the little art they employ, ſhould look as like nature as poſſible.

Compelled to act under theſe diſadvantages, the ſex are obliged to lay a perpetual reſtraint on their behaviour, and often to diſclaim by their words, and even by their actions, ſuch honeſt and virtuous attachments as they approve in their hearts. When they, however, direct their attacks upon no parti-

particular individual, when they only ſtrive to cultivate their minds and adorn their bodies, that they may become the more worthy of being honourably attacked by us, we not only pardon, but love them for thoſe arts, which, by embelliſhing nature, render her ſtill more agreeable.

NATURE has given to men ſtrength, and to women beauty; our ſtrength endears us to them, not only by affording them protection, but by its laborious efforts for their maintenance; their beauty endears them to us, not only by the delight it offers to our ſenſes, but alſo by that power it has of ſoftening and compoſing our more rugged paſſions. Every animal is conſcious of its own ſtrength, and of the proper mode of employing it; women, abundantly conſcious that theirs lies in their beauty, endeavour with the utmoſt care to heighten and improve it. To give ſome account of the many and various methods which have been and ſtill are made uſe of for this purpoſe, is the ſubject upon which we would wiſh at preſent to turn the attention of our fair readers.

CHAP. XX.

Origin and uſe of clothing.

NEXT to the procuring of daily food for the ſuſtenance of our bodies, that of clothing them ſeems the moſt eſſentially neceſſary, and there are few inventions in which more ingenuity has been diſplayed, or more honour done to the human underſtanding. The art of clothing ourſelves with decent propriety, is one of thoſe improvements which ſtrongly diſtinguiſh us from the brutes; that of clothing ourſelves with elegance, is one of thoſe which perpetually whet the invention, and diſtinguiſh the man of taſte from the mere imitator.

Cloaths not invented merely to defend from cold.

THOUGH cloaths may appear eſſentially neceſſary to us who inhabit the northern extremities of the globe, yet as they could not be ſo in the warmer climates where they were firſt invented, ſome other cauſe than merely that of ſecuring the body from the injuries of the air muſt have given birth to them. There are in Aſia, which we ſuppoſe to have been firſt inhabited, a variety of places where cloaths would not only have been altogether uſeleſs, but alſo burdenſome; yet over all this extenſive country, and in every other part of the world, except among a few of the moſt ſavage nations, all mankind

mankind have been, and ſtill are, accuſtomed to uſe ſome kind of covering for their bodies. Had cloaths been originally intended only for defending the body againſt cold, it would naturally follow, that they muſt have been invented and brought to the greateſt perfection in the coldeſt regions, and that the inhabitants of every cold country, impelled by neceſſity, muſt at leaſt have diſcovered the uſe of them long before the preſent time; but neither of theſe is the caſe, for the art of making garments was invented before any of the colder countries were inhabited, and the inhabitants of ſome of the moſt inhoſpitable regions of the globe, particularly about the ſtreights of Magellan, are at this day naked.

Shame ſuppoſed to have given birth to clothing, but erroneouſly.

FROM theſe inſtances it ſeems plain, that neceſſity was not the ſole cauſe which firſt induced men to cover their bodies; ſome other reaſon at leaſt muſt have co-operated with it, to make the cuſtom ſo univerſal. Shame has been alleged as this other reaſon, and by ſome ſaid to have been the only cauſe of the original invention of clothing; but this opinion is not ſupported by facts, for ſhame does not ſeem natural to mankind;

CHAP. XX.

it is the child of art, and the nearer we approach to nature, the leſs we are acquainted with it. It would be endleſs to enumerate the various countries in which both ſexes are entirely naked, and conſequently inſenſible of any ſhame on that account; or which is ſtill a ſtronger proof of our aſſertion, to enumerate thoſe, in which, though cloaths are commonly made uſe of, yet no ſhame is annexed to uncovering any part of the body. But that we may not build our hypotheſis entirely upon the cuſtoms of ſavage life, let us conſider the ſtate of infancy in the moſt poliſhed ſociety; a ſtate, in which nothing is more obvious, than that neither of the ſexes have any ſhame on account of being naked when ſeveral years old, and that even at the age of ſeven or eight, expoſing every part of the body, is a circumſtance to which they pay ſo little regard, that mothers, and other people who have the care of them, often find great difficulty in teaching them to conform in this particular to the cuſtoms of their country, and are frequently obliged even to make uſe of correction before they can obtain their purpoſe. To this teaching, and to this correction, we owe the firſt ſenſations of ſhame, on expoſing ourſelves

ourſelves otherwiſe than the mode of our country preſcribes, and cuſtom keeps up theſe ſenſations ever after; for ſhame is not excited by deviating from cuſtom, only in things which have a real turpitude in their nature, but alſo by deviating from it in thoſe things that are innocent or indifferent.

Origin of cloaths owing to the love of finery.

If from the foregoing reaſons it ſhould appear, that the origin of clothing was neither altogether owing to neceſſity, nor to ſhame, then the cauſe of this origin ſtill remains to be diſcovered. Might we hazard a conjecture here we would ſuppoſe it to have been a kind of innate principle, eſpecially in the fair ſex, prompting them to improve by art thoſe charms beſtowed on them by nature. The reaſons which induce us to be of this opinion are, becauſe, as we obſerved above, cloaths were invented in a climate where they were but little wanted to defend from the cold, and in a period when the human race were too innocent, as well as too rude and uncultivated, to have acquired the ſenſe of ſhame. Becauſe, alſo, in looking over the hiſtory of mankind, it appears, that an appetite for ornament, if we may ſo call it, is univerſally diffuſed among them, wherever

CHAP. XX.

wherever they have the leaſt leiſure from the indiſpenſible duty of procuring daily food, or are not depreſſed with the moſt abſolute ſlavery; all ſavage nations, even though totally naked, ſhew their love of ornament by marks, ſtains, and paintings of various kinds, upon their bodies, and theſe frequently of the moſt ſhining and gaudy colours. Every people, whoſe country affords any materials, and who have acquired any art in fabricating them, ſhew all the ingenuity they can in decking and adorning themſelves to the beſt advantage, with what they have thus fabricated. Theſe circumſtances ſtrongly demonſtrate, that the love of ornament is a natural principle, which ſhews itſelf in every country, almoſt without one ſingle exception. But further, were cloaths intended only to defend from the cold, or to cover ſhame, the moſt plain and ſimple would ſerve theſe purpoſes; at leaſt as well, if not better than the moſt gay and ornamental; but the plain and the ſimple, every where give way to the gay and the ornamental. Ornament, therefore, muſt have been one of the cauſes which gave birth to the origin of clothing.

As

CHAP. XX.

They might be owing alſo to a love of variety.

As there is in human nature a ſtrong propenſity to the love of variety, this might likewiſe contribute to the uſe of clothing; abſolute nakedneſs having nothing to preſent but the ſame object, in the ſame ſhape and colour, and without any other variation of circumſtances than what ariſe from change of attitude, is not likely to excite, and ſtill leſs likely to continue the paſſion of love. In countries therefore, where women are conſtantly in the original ſtate of nature, they are much leſs objects of deſire, than where they are enabled by dreſs to vary their figure and their ſhape, conſtantly to ſtrike us with ſome new appearance, and to ſhew, or conceal from us, a part of their charms, as it ſhall beſt anſwer their purpoſe. It is probable that the ſex became early acquainted with all the diſadvantages of appearing perpetually the ſame; and that to remedy them, they contrived, by degrees, to alter themſelves by the aſſiſtance of dreſs and ornament.

Ornament ſuppoſed by ſome not a natural paſſion of the ſex.

Because ſavage life is the ſtate that approaches neareſt to nature; and becauſe, in this ſtate, women ſometimes neglect every kind of dreſs and ornament, it has therefore been

CHAP. XX.

been concluded, that to dreſs, and to ornament themſelves, is a paſſion not natural to the ſex. But this concluſion will be found to be improperly drawn, when we conſider, that wherever women totally neglect ornament and dreſs, it is either where they have no materials for theſe purpoſes, as in the Streights of Magellan; or where they are ſo depreſſed with ſlavery and ill-uſage, as on the banks of the Oroonoka, that a paſſion ſo natural, is totally deſtroyed by the ſeverity of their fate; for even in the moſt ſavage ſtates of mankind, if the women are not depreſſed with abject ſlavery, they make every effort, and ſtrain every nerve to get materials of finery and of dreſs. On the coaſt of Patagonia, where the natives of both ſexes are almoſt entirely naked, the women, in point of ornament, were much on an equality with the men, and painted nearly in the ſame manner; and one of them, even finer than any of her male or female companions, had not only bracelets on her arms, but ſtrings of beads alſo interwoven with her hair. Among many of the tribes of wandering Tartars, who are almoſt as rude and uncultivated as imagination can paint them, the women, though in a great meaſure

measure confined, are loaded with a profusion of the richeſt ornaments their huſbands or relations can procure for them. But it would be needleſs to adduce any more proofs in ſupport of our opinion; the whole hiſtory of mankind, ancient and modern, is ſo full of them, that, unleſs we draw general concluſions from particular inſtances, we cannot entertain a doubt, that the love of finery is more natural to the other ſex than to ours.

Simplicity of primitive clothing.

TAKING it then for granted, that the love of dreſs is a natural appetite, we may reaſonably conclude, that it began to ſhew itſelf in the firſt ages of the world; but in what manner it was firſt exerted, and what materials originally offered themſelves for its gratification, are ſubjects of which we know but little. The firſt garment mentioned by hiſtory, was compoſed of leaves ſewed together, but with what they were ſewed, we have no account. Strabo tells us, that ſome nations clothed themſelves with the bark of trees, others with herbs or reeds, rudely woven together. Of all other materials, the ſkins of animals ſeem to have been the moſt univerſally uſed in the ages we are conſidering; but being

CHAP. XX.

then ignorant of the method of making theſe ſkins flexible by the art of tanning, or of ſeparating the hair from them, they wore them in the ſame ſtate in which they came from the bodies of the animals. Finding them, however, cumberſome and inconvenient in this condition, they endeavoured to diſcover ſome method of rendering them more pliable, and better adapted to their purpoſes; the diſcovery was made, but when, or where, is uncertain. Herodotus tells us, that the ancient Lybian women wore mantles of goat ſkins tanned and dyed red, a conſiderable piece of finery in thoſe times; and the ancient annals of China inform us, that Tchinfang, one of their firſt kings, taught them to prepare the ſkins of animals for garments, by taking off the hair with a wooden roller; but even after the ſkins of animals were, by the various methods practiſed in different countries, rendered ſomething more convenient, they were not naturally adapted to form a neat and commodius covering for the human body; many of them were too little, others too large; thoſe that were too large, it was an eaſy matter to make leſs at pleaſure; but thoſe that were too little, could not be enlarged without

without the art of ſewing them together; an art, which many nations were long in diſcovering. Thread does not appear to have been among the moſt early inventions, as we may ſuppoſe from finding ſeveral ſavages at this day ignorant of it; and without thread, they could do nothing. Heſiod informs us, That, inſtead of thread, the ancients uſed the ſinews of animals dried, and ſplit into ſmall fibres. Thorns, ſharp bones, and the like, ſupplied the place of needles, and of thoſe rude materials; and in this rude manner were the cloaths, or rather coverings, of the firſt ages made; but we muſt obſerve, that they were not fitted to the body as at preſent; but all looſe, and nearly of an equal ſize; a circumſtance ſtrongly proved by the many changes of raiment in the poſſeſſion of the great, in which they uſed to clothe the gueſts who came to viſit them; purpoſes which they never could have anſwered, had they been all exactly fitted to the body of the original owner; but this circumſtance is alſo further proved from the clothing of thoſe nations which retain ſtill the ſtrongeſt traces of antiquity. The garments of the Welch, and Scotch Highlanders,

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CHAP. XX.

are, at this day, ſo wide and looſe, that they may eaſily be applied to the uſe of any wearer.

Improvements in the art of clothing.

As ſociety began to improve, and the ſexes became more ambitious of rendering themſelves agreeable to each other, they endeavoured to diſcover ſuch materials as could be made into garments of a more commodius nature than the leaves and bark of trees, or the ſkins of animals; and their firſt efforts were probably made upon camel's hair; a material which they ſtill work up into clothing in the Eaſt. From camel's hair, the tranſition to wool was eaſy and natural; and it would ſoon be found, that either of them formed a covering, not only more pliable, warm, and ſubſtantial; but alſo more elegant, than any thing that had been before made uſe of. At what period they firſt invented the art of converting theſe materials into garments is uncertain: all we know is, that it was very early; for, in the patriarchal ages, we are told of the great care taken by the inhabitants of Paleſtine and Meſopotamia, in ſheering their ſheep; the wool of which they, no doubt, had the

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art of making into covering and to ornament. The uſes which were now made of wool and of camel's hair, might poſſibly ſuggeſt the firſt idea of ſeparating into diſtinct threads the fibres of plants, ſo as to convert them into the ſame uſes: but whatever ſtarted that idea, it obtained an early footing among mankind. In the plagues which were ſent to diſtreſs Egypt, on account of the Iſraelites, we read of the deſtruction of the flax; and in periods a little poſterior, we have frequent mention made of the fine linen of Egypt. Such were the materials in which men clothed themſelves in the firſt ages. We ſhall now take a ſhort view of what they had for ornament and ſhow. CHAP. XX.

Ornament of the firſt ages what.

In the days of Abraham, the art of ornamenting the body with various materials was far from being unknown; they had then jewels of ſeveral kinds, as well as veſſels of gold and ſilver. Eliezar, Abraham's ſervant, when he went to court Rebecca, for Iſaac his maſter's ſon, carried along with him jewels of gold, and of ſilver, and bracelets, and rings, as preſents to procure him a favourable reception. We find the ſame

Rebecca

CHAP. XX.

Rebecca afterwards in poſſeſſion of perfumed garments, which ſhe put on her ſon Jacob, to enable him to cheat his father, by paſſing himſelf upon him for his brother Eſau. When they had arrived at the luxury of perfuming their apparel, we may conclude, that the modes of dreſſing were not ſo plain and ſimple as ſome would endeavour to perſuade us. Jacob gave his beloved ſon Joſeph a coat of divers colours, ſuppoſed to be made of cotton, and finer than thoſe of his brethren; which ſtirred up their envy, and was the cauſe of their ſelling him for a ſlave into Egypt. But notwithſtanding all this finery, the people of the primitive ages were not acquainted with the art of dreſſing gracefully; their upper garment was only a piece of cloth, in which they wrapped themſelves; nor had they any other contrivance to keep it firm about them, than by holding it round their bodies. Many uncultivated nations at this day exhibit the ſame rude appearance. We have a ſtriking inſtance of this in Otaheite, where the people wrap themſelves in pieces of cloth of a length almoſt incredible; and the higher the rank of the wearer, ſo much the greater is the length of his cloth. In the patri-

patriarchal ages, the Iſraelites had advanced a few ſteps beyond the ſimplicity we have now deſcribed; they had garments made with ſleeves, and cloaks which they threw over all; but their ſhoes were like thoſe of the neighbouring nations, only compoſed of pieces of leather, to defend the ſoles of their feet, and faſtened on with thongs. So partially covered they never could travel on foot, nor hardly ſtir abroad, without having their feet much defiled; it was therefore always neceſſary to waſh them when they got home, a ceremony often mentioned in the ſcripture, which the ſervant generally performed to his maſter, and the maſter often to his viſitors and gueſts.

Dreſs of women in the firſt ages, not deſcribed.

AMIDST all theſe anecdotes of the dreſs of the firſt ages, it is not a little ſurpriſing, that we have no account of what was worn by the women, except the few ornaments given to Rebecca, which we have already mentioned. But though we cannot now conjecture what was their dreſs, we are aſſured, that it differed on account of different circumſtances. For Tamar, before ſhe went to ſit by the way-ſide, to impoſe herſelf upon Judah for an harlot, was habited in the

CHAP. XX.

the garments peculiar to a widow, which ſhe put off, and dreſſed herſelf in ſuch as were peculiar to an harlot. Whence it appears, that not only *widows* and *harlots*, but perhaps ſeveral other conditions, were diſtinguiſhed from one another by particular dreſſes; a ſtrong proof that dreſs was in theſe periods a circumſtance of no ſmall importance, and greatly attended to; for, where dreſs is only in its infancy, it is not made uſe of as a badge to diſtinguiſh one perſon from another; but in poliſhed nations, it is not only made uſe of to diſtinguiſh rank, but even profeſſions and circumſtances are marked out by it.

SOME of the neighbouring nations, and particularly the Midianites, had, in the primitive ages, carried their attention to dreſs ſtill farther than the Iſraelites; for we read in the book of Judges, of their gold chains, bracelets, rings, tablets, purple ornaments of their kings, and even gold chains or collars for the necks of their camels. Though the dreſs of the common people of Egypt ſeems to have been ſimple, yet the great made uſe of a variety of decorations. They had changes of raiment. Joſeph gave changes

change of raiment to each of his brethren. They wore garments made of cotton, and coſtly chains about their necks. As to the dreſs of the women, all we know of it is, that they had only one kind, whereas the men had more; whether by one kind of dreſs only, is meant, that all their variety of changes were made in one faſhion, or of the ſame ſort of materials, is uncertain; but however this be, they had, beſides their cloaths, a variety of ornaments; for Moſes tells us, that when the Iſraelites finally departed from Egypt, they were ordered to borrow jewels of gold and jewels of ſilver, to put them on their ſons and daughters, and to ſpoil the Egyptians. Nor need we wonder, that they were poſſeſſed of theſe things at the period when the Iſraelites went out from them, for even in the days of Joſeph, luxury and magnificence were carried to a great height; they had, beſides their jewels, veſſels of gold and ſilver, rich ſtuffs, and perfumes; were waited upon by a number of ſlaves, and drawn in chariots, of which they had ſeveral ſorts. They had embroideries of various kinds, which were alſo uſed among the neighbouring nations; for Moſes mentions works of embroidery, with an

CHAP. XX.

CHAP. XX.

agreeable variety; and Pliny tells us, that they painted linen by laying certain drugs upon it. From all theſe anecdotes, as well as from the immenſe ſums which we have already taken notice of being allotted to the toilette of the queens of Egypt, we may conclude that the dreſs of their women was at leaſt coſtly, if not elegant. We ſhall finiſh what we had to ſay on this ſubject by obſerving, that what moſt particularly diſtinguiſhed this people, was their attention to cleanlineſs; they not only kept their garments exceedingly neat, but the opulent had them waſhed every time they put them on; this appears the more remarkable, as cleanlineſs ſeems to have been no general virtue of the ancients. The Scythians never waſhed themſelves, leſt it ſhould ſpoil the beauty of their ſkin, but they uſed a ſuccedaneum; they pounded Cypreſs and Cedar with incenſe, infuſed the powder in water, made it into a paſte, and ſpread it over their faces; when it came off, it is ſaid not only to have ſmoothed and beautified, but even to have perfumed the part upon which it was laid.

CHAP. XX.

Mirrors early made uſe of.

THAT beauty was in all ages the ſubject of praiſe and of flattery, we may infer from the nature of man, as well as learn from the ſongs of the ancient bards. When women were praiſed, when they were flattered on this ſubject, it was natural for them to wiſh to ſee thoſe charms of which they had heard ſo much; but ingenuity could not diſcover the method of doing this, it was more probably chance which found it out. Some perſon, looking on the clear ſurface of a ſmooth pool, ſaw his own image in the water; this furniſhed the firſt hint that every poliſhed ſurface would have the ſame effect; hence mirrors were made in a very early period in Egypt; and from the Egyptians probably, the Iſraelites firſt borrowed that art; for mirrors were common among them in their paſſage through the wilderneſs, as appears from Moſes having made his laver of braſs, of the mirrors offered by the women who attended at the door of the tabernacle. The art of making mirrors of glaſs was not known in theſe days. The firſt and beſt are ſaid to have been made long after, of a ſand found on the coaſts of the Tyrian ſea;

CHAP. XX.

thoſe then in uſe were made of highly poliſhed metal. In Egypt, and in Paleſtine, they were of braſs. When the ancient Peruvians were firſt diſcovered, their mirrors were of braſs: and, at this day, in the Eaſt, they are commonly made of that, or ſome other metal, capable of receiving a fine poliſh.

The uſe of mirrors, among the Egyptians and Iſraelites, is a proof that the ages under review were not ſo rude and ſimple as ſome would inſinuate. Many nations at this period have not arrived to the knowledge of mirrors. The people of New Zealand were ſurpriſed at this mode of viewing their own faces, and behaved on the occaſion with a mixture of the moſt ridiculous grimace and merriment. Almoſt every writer of voyages into ſavage countries, preſents us with hiſtories of a ſimilar nature. How rapid is the progreſs of human genius in ſome countries! How ſlow in others! Whence ariſes this diverſity? Is it from climate, from neceſſity, or from a difference in the original powers and faculties of the mind? Is it poſſible that ſavages

ſavages never have ſeen themſelves in the water? If they have, why ſhould they be ſurpriſed at ſeeing themſelves in a looking-glaſs?

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

The ſame Subject continued.

CHAP. XXI.

IN periods ſo remote as theſe we are now conſidering, it is impoſſible for us to give any diſtinct detail of the various dreſſes made uſe of; we have neither deſcriptions nor monuments left to elucidate ſo dark a ſubject; nor, if we had, is it our intention to give a minute and circumſtantial account of every article uſed at the female toilette: we only mean to point out that dreſs has been an object of general attention, and in what manner this attention has exerted itſelf; and we ſhall leave our readers to conſider, how far the care beſtowed on it may elucidate the manners of the times, and how theſe manners might influence the modes of altering and forming it.

Folly of declaimers againſt ornaments and finery.

AMONG other ſubjects of popular declamation, the preſent luxury of dreſs affords a conſtant opportunity of endeavouring to perſuade us, that our own times far ſurpaſs in this article every thing that has gone before

fore us; and that our own country ſurpaſſes all the world. But this is no more than mere declamation; for if we look back even to very remote periods of antiquity, we ſhall find that the ſame thing was then the ſubject of declamation as well as at preſent. The third chapter of Iſaiah preſents us with an account of the finery of the daughters of Babylon, which no modern extravagance has hitherto equalled. Homer dreſſes ſeveral of his heroes and heroines with a magnificence to which we are ſtrangers; and Cleopatra exhibited an extravagance in her dreſs and entertainments, which in our times would beggar the moſt wealthy potentate on the globe. We might eaſily multiply inſtances to ſhew the ſplendour and magnificence of the ancients; but thoſe already given, are ſufficient to teach us how little reaſon there is for declaimers to vilify the preſent times; nor have they more reaſon to exclaim againſt this country; whoever has ſeen the ſplendour of the Eaſt, muſt laugh at every ſatire on that of Europe. When the emperors of the Moguls appeared in public, the wealth and magnificence exhibited, were ſufficient to beggar all deſcription; even the Khalifs, ſucceſſors

CHAP. XXI.

ſucceſſors to Mahomet, in their public entertainments and ceremonies, were ſplendid and coſtly beyond our conception. The marriage of Almamoun with the daughter of Haſſan Sahal, was celebrated with a magnificence hardly to be credited by an European. Slaves of both ſexes were made preſents of by the bride's father, to every grandee who was ſubject to Almamoun. While the preliminaries of the nuptials were ſettling at Fomal Saleh, the two courts were every day entertained with all the luxurious and voluptuous ſpectacles of the Eaſt. When the bargain was concluded, and the bride and bridegroom departed, they found the road from thence to Baghdad, *almoſt an hundred miles*, covered with matts of gold and ſilver ſtuff; on the head-dreſs of the bride, a thouſand pearls are ſaid to have been arranged, every one of them of an immenſe value. We could fill up many pages with a recital of eaſtern magnificence, but this ſingle example will ſufficiently ſhew us how much it exceeds our own.

THOUGH a variety of precious ſtones were made uſe of by the ancients, it is probable they were unacquainted with the diamond,

diamond, upon which modern refinement has ſtamped ſuch an immenſe value. Some have imagined, that Homer and Heſiod have mentioned this ſtone by the name of *Adamas* and *Adamantinos;* but it has been more judicioufly ſuppoſed, that theſe Greek terms have not the leaſt relation to it. Pliny, who has taken much pains to inveſtigate the diſcovery of precious ſtones, can find no mention of this till a period near the beginning of the Chriſtian æra. But long after the diſcovery of diamonds, they did not, for want of being properly poliſhed, diſplay half their luſtre; the art of giving them this luſtre by poliſhing them with their own duſt, is but a late invention, and aſcribed to Lewis de Berquen, a native of Bruges, who lived only between three and four hundred years ago.

Ancients not acquainted with the diamond.

A DESIRE of attracting the public attention, firſt prompted the human race to ornament themſelves with the moſt ſhining and brilliant things which nature could ſupply. Among theſe, the diamond, after it was diſcovered, held the chief rank; it was, therefore, natural, that the mines which produce it ſhould be ſought after with avi-

Diamonds where found.

CHAP. XXI.

dity, and preſerved with care. It would perhaps be conſidered as foreign to our purpoſe, to give an account of every particular ſpot where diamonds are found; ſuffice it therefore to ſay, that the greater part of them are dug up in the dominions of Spain and Portugal. In the Brazils the Portugueſe have a company which has an excluſive right to the diamond mines, and the laws enacted by that company for their ſecurity, are ſubverſive of juſtice, policy, and mercy. Not contented with inflicting inſtant death upon every ſtranger found within a certain diſtance of the mines, they have alſo depopulated and turned into an unacceſſible waſte, a diſtrict of country to the extent of three hundred miles around them. Such are the crimes by which mankind become poſſeſſed of this moſt important bagatelle, which now diſtinguiſhes grandeur and opulence from the lower and more humble ranks of life.

Love of ornament early diſplayed.

INDIVIDUALS of the human ſpecies, like thoſe of all others, grow old, and ſuffer by decay; but the ſpecies itſelf, always the ſame, is conſtantly diſtinguiſhed by the ſame propenſities, and actuated by the ſame paſſions. It

It treads in the ſame path that it did five hundred years ago. Dignity and power were then, as well as now, in many places conferred by opulence, and diſtinguiſhed by ornament and dreſs; and beauty was fond of adding to nature, by all the decorations and embelliſhments of art. Aaron was diſtinguiſhed by a profuſion of ornaments; the greateſt part of the heroes of Homer were diſtinguiſhed by the richneſs and brilliancy of their armour; and the kings of the ancient Medes and Perſians, and of many of the neighbouring nations, had golden ſcepters, as enſigns of their power and authority.

But to return from the ſubject of badges of diſtinction, to the dreſs and ornament of common life. In ancient Babylon, the men wore ſtuffs wrought with gold and ſilver, ornamented with coſtly embroidery, and enriched with rubies, emeralds, ſaphires, pearls, and other jewels, of which the Eaſt has always been remarkably productive. Collars of gold were alſo a part of their finery. Such was the dreſs of their men; that of their women has not been ſo particulary deſcribed, but when we conſider the rank which women held among them, and the natural

CHAP. XXI.

propenſity of the ſex to dreſs and ornament, we have reaſon to believe it was ſtill more coſtly and magnificent, eſpecially as we ſo frequently find the prophets reproving the daughters of Babylon for their pride, and the vanity which they diſplayed in the variety and ſplendour of their attire. To the coſtlineſs of the materials of their garments, the Babyloniſh women frequently added the expence of the moſt precious perfumes, which they laviſhed with the greateſt profuſion on their dreſs and on their perſons; and as it is well known that the perfumes of Babylon were every where famous for their ſuperior excellence, and bore an exceeding high price, this luxurious article muſt have added greatly to the expence of the female toilette.

Dress and ornament did not leſs excite the attention of the Medes and Perſians than of the Babylonians; the women of their kings were habited in all the pomp of eaſtern magnificence, and the revenues of whole provinces were frequently employed in decorating her who happened to be the greateſt favourite. The queens had certain diſtricts ſet apart for maintaining their toilette and ward-

wardrobe, one for the veil, another for the girdle, &c. and theſe diſtricts took their names from the different parts of the dreſs to which they were appropriated, as the queen's girdle, the queen's mantle, &c. The Medes appear to have paid the greateſt attention to dreſs, for the luxury and magnificence of which, they are frequently exclaimed againſt by the writers of antiquity. They wore long flowing robes with large hanging ſleeves, interwoven with a variety of different colours, of the moſt gaudy and ſhining nature, richly embroidered with gold and ſilver. They were likewiſe loaded with bracelets, gold chains, and necklaces adorned with precious ſtones, and wore upon the head a kind of *tiara* or high pointed cap, exceedingly magnificent; nay, ſo far had they carried their attention to every ſpecies of decoration, that they even tinged their eyes and eye-brows, painted their faces, and mingled artificial with their natural hair, Such, in the articles of dreſs and ornament, was the care and attention of their men; antiquity has left us in the dark concerning that of their women, and has only informed us in general, that they were exceedingly beautiful. We may, there-

CHAP. XXI.

therefore, reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they endeavoured to improve by art, that beauty beſtowed on them by nature.

Ancients magnificently dreſſed on public occaſions.

NOTWITHSTANDING what we have now mentioned, in looking over the hiſtory of antiquity, we are apt at firſt view to imagine, that the ancient heroes deſpiſed dreſs, as an effeminacy in which it was below their notice to indulge themſelves. Hercules had only a lion's ſkin flung over his ſhoulders, and a variety of the heroes mentioned by Homer and the other ancient writers, were wrapped in thoſe of the different animals they had deſtroyed. But this ſeems only to have been the mode in which they clothed themſelves in ordinary life, or perhaps rather for convenience when they went a hunting, or to make them appear more terrible when they went to war; for on public occaſions, when ceremony was neceſſary, they had other garments of a very different nature. The mantle of Ulyſſes is deſcribed by Homer as an extraordinary piece of finery, and ſeveral of the reſt of his warriors are now and then introduced in the utmoſt magnificence of dreſs that gods and men could fabricate for them. Even in the heroic ages, the Greeks wore cloaths adorned

adorned with gold and ſilver, and ladies of diſtinction had long flowing robes faſtened with claſps of gold, and bracelets of the ſame metal adorned with amber; nor were they then inconſcious that nature might be improved by art, for they endeavoured to give a bloom to their complexions by ſeveral ſorts of paint, in compoſing and laying on which, they were ſcarcely leſs dextrous than the ladies of the firſt rank and faſhion at Verſailles, But with all theſe loads of finery, the ancients were ſtrangers to elegance, and even to convenience. In the times we are ſpeaking of, the Greeks had no ſhoes, but only a kind of ſandals, which they put on when they went out; neither did they know the uſe of breeches, ſtockings, nor drawers, nor pins, nor buckles, nor buttons, nor pockets. They had not invented the art of lining cloaths, and when cold, were obliged to ſupply that defect, by throwing one garment over another.

Dreſs of the ancient Greek women.

As the Greeks emerged from the barbarity of the heroic ages, among other articles of culture, they began to beſtow more attention on the convenience and elegance of dreſs. At Athens, the ladies commonly employed

CHAP. XVI.

employed the whole morning in decorating themſelves; their toilette conſiſted in paints and waſhes, of ſuch a nature as to clean and beautify the ſkin, and they took great care to clean their teeth, an article at preſent too much neglected. Some alſo blackened their eye-brows, and, if neceſſary, ſupplied the deficiency of the vermillion on their lips, by a paint ſaid to have been exceedingly beautiful. At this day the women in the Greek iſlands make much uſe of a paint which they call *Sulama*, which imparts a beautiful redneſs to the cheeks, and gives the ſkin a remarkable gloſs. Poſſibly this may be the ſame with that made uſe of in the times we are conſidering. Some of the Greek ladies at preſent gild their faces all over on the day of their marriage, and conſider this coating as an irreſiſtable charm. In the iſland of Scios, their dreſs does not a little reſemble that of ancient Sparta, for they go with their boſoms uncovered, and with gowns which only reach to the calf of their leg, in order to ſhew their fine garters, which are commonly red ribbons curiouſly embroidered. But to return to ancient Greece, the ladies ſpent likewiſe a part of their time in compoſing head-dreſſes, and

though

though we have reaſon to ſuppoſe that they were not then ſo prepoſterouſly fantaſtic as thoſe preſently fabricated by a Pariſian milliner, yet they were probably objects of no ſmall induſtry and attention, eſpecially as we find that they then dyed their hair, perfumed it with the moſt coſtly eſſences, and by the means of hot irons diſpoſed of it in curls, as fancy or faſhion directed. Their cloaths were made of ſtuffs ſo extremely light and fine, as to ſhew their ſhapes, without offending againſt the rules of decency. At Sparta, the caſe was widely different; we ſhall not deſcribe the dreſs of the women, it is ſufficient to ſay, that it has been loudly complained of by almoſt every ancient author who has treated on the ſubject. Euripedes ſays, it was not in the power of the Spartan ladies to be modeſt; their dreſs, through which their limbs were viſible, and their wreſtling naked with the young men, were temptations to debauchery which human nature could not poſſibly reſiſt.

Dreſs of the Roman women.

FROM what has now been related it appears, that the women of antiquity were not leſs ſolicitous about their perſons than the moderns, and that the materials for decorating

CHAP. XXI.

them, were neither ſo few, nor ſo ſimple, as has been by ſome imagined. Theſe facts, in the review of the Romans, will appear ſtill more conſpicuous. In the more early periods of that great republic, the people in their perſons as well as in their manners, were ſimple and unadorned; we ſhall, therefore, paſs over the attire of theſe times, and confine our obſervations to that which appeared when the wealth of the whole world centred within the walls of Rome.

THE Roman ladies went to bathe in the morning, and from thence returned to the toilette, where women of rank and fortune had a number of ſlaves to attend on and do every thing for them, while themſelves, looking conſtantly in their glaſſes, practiſed various attitudes, ſtudied the airs of negligence, the ſmiles that beſt became them, and directed the placing of every lock of hair, and every part of the head-dreſs. Coquettes, ladies of moroſe temper, and thoſe whoſe charms had not attracted ſo much notice as they expected, often blamed the ſlaves who dreſſed them for this want of ſucceſs; and if we may believe Juvenal, ſometimes chaſtiſed them for it with the moſt

moſt unfeeling ſeverity. At firſt, the maids who attended the toilette were to aſſiſt in adjuſting every part of the dreſs, but afterward each had her proper taſk aſſigned her; one had the combing, curling, and dreſſing of the hair; another managed the perfumes; a third the jewels; a fourth laid on the paint and coſmetics; all theſe, and ſeveral others, had names expreſſive of their different employments. But beſides thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to put their hands to the labour of the toilette, there were others, who, acting in a ſtation more exalted, only attended to give their opinion and advice, to declare what colours moſt ſuited the complexion, and what method of dreſſing gave the greateſt additional luſtre to the charms of nature.

As the loves and the graces more particularly reſide in the face, the Roman ladies were not only attentive to the face itſelf, but to every decoration that ſurrounded it. They had combs of box and of ivory for the hair, the curls of which they faſtened with gold and ſilver pins; beſides theſe, they commonly ſtuck into their hair, pins ſet with pearl, and plaited it with chains and rings of gold, or with purple or white ribbons,

CHAP. XXI.

ſhining with jewels and precious ſtones. They had alſo in their ears, rings of gold, loaded with pearl, or other jewels*. The modern gigantic head-dreſs of the preſent time, with all its combs, and wool, and curls, is not the invention of this age; it is at leaſt as old as the times we are delineating: the Roman ladies, by the aſſiſtance of borrowed hair or wool, decorated their heads with treſſes, knots, and curls, all ſo variouſly diſpoſed, and in ſo many different ſtories one above another, that the whole looked like a regular piece of architecture. Nor was it always neceſſary that a lady ſhould ſpend *her precious* time in ſitting to have her upper apartments built upon in this manner; the Romans, as well as the moderns, knew how to mingle convenience with folly, they could purchaſe in the ſhops, as at preſent, a head-dreſs ready built, which they had only the trouble to clap on. It would be tedious to mention the various

* So extravagant was the love of finery and ornament among the Roman ladies, that to curb and reſtrain it, was frequently the ſerious occupation of the venerable ſenate; which at one time loudly complained, that, in the purchaſe of female trinkets and ornaments, a great part of the wealth of the ſtate was irrecoverably given away, to nations who were enemies to Rome.

forms

forms in which theſe voluminous head-dreſſes were conſtructed; ſuffice it to ſay, that there were ſome modes of dreſſing the head, which were conſidered as diſtinguiſhing marks of modeſty and virtue, while others were as ſtrong indications of lewdneſs and debauchery.

But diſpoſing of the hair in various forms and figures; interweaving it with ribbons, jewels, and gold; were not the only methods they made uſe of to decorate it. As light-coloured hair had the preference of all others, both men and women therefore dyed their hair of this colour, perfumed it with ſweet-ſcented eſſences, and powdered it with *gold duſt;* a cuſtom of the higheſt extravagance, which the Romans brought from Aſia, and which, according to Joſephus, was practiſed among the Jews. White hair powder was not then invented, nor did the uſe of it come into faſhion till towards the end of the ſixteenth century. The firſt writer who mentions it is L'Etoile, who relates, that in the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety-three, the Nuns walked the ſtreets of Paris curled and powdered; from that time the cuſtom of powdering has become ſo common,

CHAP. XXI.

common, that in moſt places of Europe, but eſpecially in France, it is uſed by both ſexes, and by people of all ages, ranks, and conditions.

Of the Roman coſmetics and paints.

SUCH were the ornaments with which the Roman ladies ſurrounded the face; thoſe of the face itſelf conſiſted of coſmetics, paints, and even paſtes; of the coſmetics, it would be ſuperfluous to give any account, as it is preſumed that modern invention has furniſhed the preſent times with ſuch as are much preferable. Chalk and white lead were then uſed as paints, for we are told by Martial, that Fabula was afraid of the rain, on account of the *chalk* on her face; and Sabella of the ſun, becauſe of the *ceruſe* with which ſhe was painted. The famous Poppæa, who was firſt the miſtreſs, and afterwards the wife of Nero, made uſe of an unctuous paint which hardened upon the face, and remained there till ſhe choſe to take it off by warm milk. As this paint originated from an empreſs, it ſoon became ſo faſhionable at Rome, that it was uſed almoſt by every woman when at home in her own houſe; in the common phraſe of the times it was called the domeſtic face; and, if

if we may credit Juvenal, the only one which frequently was known to the huſband, the natural one which it covered, being reſerved for occaſional lovers. In order alſo to rectify what they ſuppoſed nature had made amiſs, they had depilatory plaiſters to take off ſuperfluous hairs from the eye-brows, or other parts of the face; nor was the art of painting, and otherwiſe making artificial eye-brows, unknown to them. The teeth, we may readily believe, were alſo an object of much attention; they were cleaned and whitened by a variety of methods, and artificial ones were placed in the room of ſuch as age or accident had deſtroyed; but the materials of which they were made ſeem not to have been judiciouſly choſen. "Thou "haſt only three teeth," ſays Martial to Maxima, "and theſe are of box varniſhed "over." But with all this art, there were ſome defects for which they were not provided with any remedy: "If," ſays the ſame poet to Lælia, "thou art not aſhamed to "make uſe of borrowed teeth and hair, yet "ſtill thou muſt be embarraſſed; What "wilt thou do for an eye, there are none "to be bought?" Had the unfortunate Lælia lived in our more inventive days, even

CHAP. XXI.

even this defect might have been ſupplied. To ſum up all, the Roman ladies took great care that their ſkins ſhould be kept perfectly clean and ſweet, by frequent bathing; and ſome of them, not contented with common water for this purpoſe, uſed to mix it with a variety of detergent or ſweet-ſcented ingredients: Poppæa, whom we have before mentioned, had every day the milk of five hundred aſſes made into a bath, which ſhe ſuppoſed gave her ſkin a ſoftneſs and poliſh beyond that of any other woman.

Materials of which the Roman dreſs was compoſed.

THE moſt common materials for clothing among the Romans, were wool and flax; materials leſs fine indeed than thoſe we have at preſent, but to ſupply that defect, they were richly embroidered, and frequently loaded with different kinds of jewels. Linen only became known to them in the time of the emperors; and, perhaps, nearly about the ſame time, the uſe of ſilk was introduced among them; but it was long ſo ſcarce and expenſive, that a ſmall quantity of it was only mixed with wool or flax, in the compoſition of their fineſt ſtuffs. Heliogabalus is the firſt on record who had a robe made entirely of ſilk. At that time it

it muſt have been exceedingly dear, for it was ſold for its weight of gold fifty years afterwards; as we learn from the anſwer of Aurelian to his wife. when ſhe deſired him to let her have a ſilk mantle, "I ſhall take "care," ſaid he, "not to buy threads for "their weight in gold."

Short account of ſilk.

As ſilk is the moſt beautiful and elegant material which has ever been made uſe of to adorn the fair forms whoſe hiſtory we are writing, we hope our readers will not conſider a ſhort account of it as foreign to our purpoſe. Silk is ſaid to have been brought from Perſia into Greece three hundred and twenty-three years before Chriſt, and from India to Rome in the year two hundred and ſeventy-four after Chriſt. During the reign of Tiberius, a law was made in the ſenate, forbidding men to debaſe themſelves by wearing ſilk, which was only fit for women; and ſo little were the Europeans acquainted with its culture, that it was then ſuppoſed to grow upon trees like cotton. In the year five hundred and fifty-five, two monks brought from Cerinda, in the Eaſt Indies, to Conſtantinople, the eggs of ſome ſilk-worms, which having hatched in a dunghill,

CHAP. XXI.

they fed the young inſects with mulberry leaves, and by this management they ſoon multiplied to ſuch a degree, that manufactures of ſilk were erected at Conſtantinople, at Athens, at Thebes, and at Corinth. In the year eleven hundred and thirty, Roger, king of Sicily, brought manufactorers of ſilk from Greece, and ſettled them at Palermo, where they taught the Sicilians the art of breeding the ſilk-worms, and of ſpinning and weaving the ſilk. From Sicily, the art was carried over all Italy, from thence to Spain; and a little before the time of Francis the Firſt, it was brought to the ſouth of France. Henry the Fourth of France, was at great pains to introduce manufactures of ſilk into his kingdom, contrary to the advice of his favourite miniſter the Duke de Sully, and by his perſeverance, at laſt brought them to a tolerable perfection. In the year twelve hundred and eighty-ſix, the ladies of ſome noblemen firſt appeared in ſilk mantles in England, at a ball in Kennelworth Caſtle in Warwickſhire. In the year ſixteen hundred and twenty, the art of weaving ſilk was firſt introduced into England, and in the year ſeventeen hundred and nineteen, Lombes's machine for throwing ſilk was erected

erected at Derby, a piece of mechaniſm which well deſerves the attention and applauſe of every beholder; it contains twenty-ſix thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſix wheels, the whole of which receive their motion from one wheel that is turned by water. Such was the introduction of ſilk, but it continued long too ſcarce and dear to be applied to common uſe. Henry the Second of France, was the firſt European who wore ſilk ſtockings. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, no ſilk ſtockings had appeared in England; Edward the ſixth, his ſon and ſucceſſor, was preſented by Sir Thomas Greſham with the firſt pair that ever were ſeen in this country; and the preſent was at that time much talked of as valuable and uncommon. Queen Elizabeth was alſo preſented with a pair of black ſilk ſtockings by her ſilk-woman, and was ſo fond of them, that we are told by Holwell, ſhe never wore any other kind afterwards. From theſe times, however, ſilk has, in every ſhape, become ſo common among us, that it is now no longer the diſtinguiſhing badge of rank and opulence, but to be found among people of every ſtation, from the throne to the dunghill.

CHAP. XXI.

Moſt faſhionable colours among the Romans.

BUT to return to our ſubject. The Romans had long exiſted as a people before the faſhion of wearing garments of various colours was introduced among them; during the time of the republic, white was the common colour of the cloaths, and even of the ſhoes worn by the ladies. Aurelian granted them a power of wearing red ſhoes; and, at the ſame time, prohibited all men from that privilege, except himſelf and ſucceſſors in the empire.

What kind of ſhoes they wore.

SHOES, with high heels, were firſt invented at Rome; Auguſtus wore them, in order to make himſelf appear taller; the prieſts put them on at their ſolemn ſacrifices, and ladies of diſtinction at balls and public meetings. The ſhoes of great men were adorned with gold, and we have reaſon to believe, though it is not recorded, that the ladies copied their example. Heliogabalus adorned his ſhoes with precious ſtones, finely engraved by the greateſt artiſts: the ſucceeding emperors, imitating the pattern he had ſhewn them, loaded their ſhoes with a variety of ornaments; and had the Roman eagle, for the moſt part, embroidered on them, ſtudded round with pearls and diamonds; but we ceaſe to wonder at this

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foolish extravagance of the emperors, when we are told, that even private citizens of Rome, besides the ornaments on the upper parts of their shoes, had the soles of them sometimes made of gold.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the northern nations, their dress.

We have already seen, that the ancient inhabitants of the North had a much greater regard for their women than any other people, who were equally rude and uncultivated: it would, therefore, be offering an indignity to these women to suppose, that they, in their turn, did not endeavour to please and become agreeable to the men, by such arts of dress and ornament as were then known among them, as well as by the virtues of chastity and obedience, for which they were so remarkably distinguished. We are not, however, to suppose, that in the article of dress, we shall find them equal to many of the ancient nations we have hitherto mentioned. The countries they inhabited, in themselves barren and unhospitable, hardly afforded any thing to assist the charms of nature; all the necessary arts were either totally unknown, or only in a state of infancy; of the elegant ones, the northerns were entirely ignorant. From these causes, the materials

which

CHAP. XXI.

which furniſhed the female toilette, muſt have been but few and imperfect. The hair, which when properly managed is, without any ornament, one of the greateſt beauties of the ſex, ſeems to have been the chief object of their attention. It was ſometimes tied and knotted on the crown of their heads, from whence falling down, it hung negligently on their backs and ſhoulders. Among ſome tribes, they had acquired the art of curling it; but among the greateſt part, it flowed looſe and careleſsly in the wind. A linen ſhift, without any ſleeves, frequently variegated with purple, and over this a cloak of the ſkins of ſuch animals as their huſbands had killed in hunting, ſeems to have been their moſt magnificent finery. They were generally beautiful, having lively blue eyes, large but regular features, a fine complexion, and a ſkin which, for whiteneſs, equalled the ſnow upon their mountains. Their ſtature was tall, their ſhape eaſy and majeſtic; and, to crown the whole, this majeſty was blended with all that ſoftneſs which ſo peculiarly characteriſes the ſex, and which renders them at once the objects of our admiration and our love. So accompliſhed, they had little occaſion for the

the toilette, and they made as little uſe of it; where nature had done ſo much, art would have only ſpoiled her work.

Dreſs of the middle ages variable.

We ſhall not endeavour to develope the various modes of dreſs, which were the offſpring of fancy, faſhion, or neceſſity, among the deſcendants of theſe northern nations, of whom we have been now ſpeaking, in thoſe periods called the middle ages: but ſhall only remark in general, that about the time of Charlemagne, the men dreſſed in ſhort cloaths, over which, on days of ceremony, they threw a kind of mantle lined with fur. Charlemagne himſelf wore fillets twiſted round his legs, in the manner of buſkins, but we are not informed how the ladies were then dreſſed. The hiſtory of France gives us a few ſketches of the revolutions that their dreſs had undergone, without particularly ſpecifying the times in which theſe revolutions happened; we ſhall, therefore, paſs over them, and obſerve as we go along, that, by the laws of the Burgundians, ſuch was the importance of dreſs and ornament, that it was on the demiſe of a mother, to go by invariable ſucceſſion to her daughter or daughters. Other northern nations

had

CHAP. XXI.

had laws of a ſimilar nature, by which males were intirely excluded from the ſucceſſion to things of this kind, ſo long as any female relation exiſted.

To this account we ſhall add ſome remarks on the dreſs of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes. They conſidered their hair as one of their greateſt perſonal beauties, and took much care to dreſs it to the utmoſt advantage. Young ladies wore it looſe, and flowing in ringlets over their ſhoulders; but after marriage they cut it ſhorter, tied it up, and covered it with a head-dreſs, according to the faſhion of the times. To have the hair entirely cut off, was a diſgrace of ſuch a nature, that it was even thought a puniſhment not inadequate to the crime of adultery. So great, in the Middle Ages, was the value ſet upon the hair by both ſexes, that, as a piece of the moſt peculiar mortification, it was ordered by the canons of the church, that the clergy ſhould keep their hair ſhort, and ſhave the crown of their head; and that they ſhould not, upon any pretence whatever, endeavour to keep the part ſo ſhaved from the public view. Many of the clergy of theſe times, finding themſelves ſo greatly mortified,

mortified, and perhaps ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed from all other people by this particularity, as to be readily detected, when they committed any of the follies or crimes to which human nature is in every ſituation liable, in order to reduce the whole to a ſimilarity with themſelves, endeavoured to perſuade mankind, that long hair was criminal. Amongſt theſe, St. Wulſtan eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf; "He rebuked," ſays William of Malmſbury, "the wicked of all "ranks with great boldneſs; but was parti-"cularly ſevere upon thoſe who were proud "of their long hair. When any of theſe "vain people bowed their heads before him, "to receive his bleſſing; before he gave it, "he cut a lock from their hair, with a ſharp "penknife, which he carried about him for "that purpoſe; and commanded them, by "way of penance for their ſins, to cut all "the reſt in the ſame manner: if any of "them refuſed to comply with his command, "he reproached them for their effeminacy, "and denounced the moſt dreadful judg-"ments againſt them." Such, however, was the value of the hair in thoſe days, that many rather ſubmitted to his cenſures, than part with it; and ſuch was the folly of the

CHAP. XXI.

church, and of this ſaint in particular, that the moſt ſolemn judgments were denounced againſt multitudes, for no other crime than not making uſe of penknives and ſciſſars, to cut off an ornament beſtowed by nature.

But not contented with ſilly exclamations againſt long hair, the clergy reproached alſo in the bitterneſs of their zeal, thoſe who wore falſe locks, or garments of any other colour but white; who uſed inſtruments of muſic; vaſes of gold or ſilver; white bread; foreign wines; warm baths, or any thing calculated for indulgence or oſtentation. As the patriarch Jacob had repoſed his head on a ſtone, they vociferated with particular acrimony againſt all theſe who uſed downy pillows, and even dealt out damnation among thoſe who were wicked enough to ſhave their beards; a crime, which, according to Tertullian, was an impious attempt to improve the works of the Creator. St. Paul, for what reaſon we know not, had declared that it was the glory of a woman, but the ſhame of a man, to have long hair; the clergy for many ages had implicitly adopted this opinion, and ſtretching it a little farther, had declared that

that to be criminal, which St. Paul had only called ſhameful. Biſhop Serlo, preaching before Henry the Firſt, painted in ſuch odious colours the ſinfulneſs of long hair, that he obliged the king and all his courtiers to crop their heads immediately after the ſervice. "If religion," ſaid a wag, "has made "it damnation not to cut the hair, and "damnation to cut the beard, it ought in "juſtice to have marked exactly where the "one begins and the other ends." Aaron, ſaid the clergy, wore a long beard, but we hear of none of the ancients who had long hair beſide Abſalom, and he was hanged by it, as a viſible puniſhment for ſo enormous a ſin.

Of the linen, ſtockings, and ſhoes of the Middle Ages.

THE Anglo-Saxons were no ſtrangers to the uſe of linen, as appears from ſeveral anecdotes in their hiſtory; and particularly from this, That confeſſors frequently ordered the moſt obſtinate ſinners to wear woollen ſhirts next their bodies, as an extraordinary penance. It would ſeem, however, that ſtockings, and other kinds of covering for the legs, were then but little uſed; as the clergy, who were the moſt wealthy of all others, frequently with naked

CHAP. XXI.

legs, approached the altar, and celebrated maſs; till the year ſeven hundred and eighty-five, when a canon was made in theſe terms: "Let no miniſter of the altar preſume to "approach it, to celebrate maſs, with na-"ked legs; leſt his filthineſs appear, and "God be offended." Some perſons of condition had a kind of covering for their legs, which was faſtened on with bandages, wrapped about from the foot to the knee, as appears from the figures of Edward the Confeſſor, of Guido, count of Ponthieu, and ſome others, in the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux. But though many of the figures of this tapeſtry are without ſtockings; yet neither in this, nor any other of the monuments, which repreſent the dreſs of theſe times, are there any without ſhoes; though it would ſeem, that mankind were then ſo little acquainted with the proper materials for this purpoſe, that they generally made them of wood. That the common people ſhould not be able to afford any other than wooden ſhoes, in periods ſo diſtant, does not ſurpriſe us; but we are rather aſtoniſhed, when we are told, that in the ninth and tenth centuries, ſome of the greateſt princes in Europe, were only equipped in this manner;

ner; ſure indications, that the invention of the times had not then diſcovered any thing that was more proper for the purpoſe.

When the two ſexes are diſtinguiſhed from each other, by the materials and faſhion of their dreſs, it is a certain ſign, that cultivation is arrived at no inconſiderable length. Among the ancient Germans there was, in this article, but little difference. Nor was there much more among the Anglo-Saxons, the moſt material was, that the mantles of the women flowed down almoſt to the ground, whereas thoſe of the men were conſiderably ſhorter. Thoſe people, as well as the Danes, ſeem to have been fond of every kind of ornament, and particularly of gold chains and bracelets: gold chains were worn by officers of high rank as well civil as military, and being given by the ſovereigns, theſe ſovereigns were on that account frequently called by the poets, *givers of gold chains*. Bracelets of gold, or other precious materials, are an ornament now ſolely appropriated to women. Among the Danes, however, they were indiſcriminately the ornament of either ſex; Earl Goodwin preſented king Hardicanute with gold bracelets for his arms,

and

CHAP. XXI.

and ſo ſacred were ornaments of this kind then eſteemed, that they frequently ſwore by them, and are ſaid to have held an oath of this nature as tremendous and inviolable, as the gods of the pagans did that which was ſworn by the Styx.

Cauſes of the reviſal of dreſs and ornament.

In the Middle Ages there prevailed among mankind, ſuch an univerſal diſtruſt of each other, owing to the frequency of crimes and the weakneſs of laws, that there was but little mutual intercourſe or ſocial friendſhip among the inhabitants of Europe. Thoſe promiſcuous meetings which diſtinguiſh poliſhed nations, and call both ſexes together, were unknown; hence neither ſex had then any other motive to induce it to dreſs than the love of cleanlineſs, and the innate deſire of finery. When the inſtitution of chivalry ſtarted up, it gave a happy turn to this rudeneſs of manners; it afforded more protection to the women, and conſequently enabled them to ſee more company; it introduced numerous meetings at tilts and tournaments, where the ladies were conſtituted the judges of valour and rewarders of the valiant, where their charms were ſuppoſed to add courage to the hearts, and

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CHAP. XXI.

ſtrength to the arms of their admirers, and where they were conſequently furniſhed with the ſtrongeſt motives to decorate and embelliſh their perſons. But beſides tilts and tournaments, in the Middle Ages, there aroſe alſo in Europe another kind of public meetings, called Fairs, to which both ſexes reſorted. While mutual diffidence and diſtruſt diffuſed their baleful influence, and there was hardly any ſecurity from rapine and murder, but in the caſtles and ſtrong holds of the barons, trade and commerce were in the moſt languid ſtate; to revive them in ſome meaſure, fairs were firſt inſtituted, where merchants and traders brought their commodities and expoſed them to ſale; but a bare ſale of goods for which there was but little demand, on account of the ſcarcity of money, did not at firſt anſwer the end of drawing many people together; the venders in time, to allure the multitude, beſides the expoſure of their goods, entertained them with a variety of public ſhows and diverſions, and from that time their fairs became the faſhionable places of rendezvous, and were not only

another

CHAP. XXI. another motive for the ſex to dreſs and endeavour to appear to advantage, but alſo afforded them the materials for that important purpoſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

The ſame Subject continued.

CHAP. XXII.
Of the women of the Eaſt.

IN treating on the ſubject of dreſs, we have already had occaſion to give ſome account of the ſplendour and magnificence of the ancient Eaſterns; in conſidering the preſent inhabitants of theſe regions, we ſhall ſee them ſtill governed by the ſame principles, and led by the ſame love of oſtentation.

SUCH is the conſtitution of the two ſexes, that the whole of their actions are guided and influenced by each other. The women dreſs and uſe every means to appear beautiful and engaging in order to pleaſe the men, and the men aſſume bravery and every maſculine accompliſhment in their power, in order to pleaſe and render themſelves acceptable to the women. In countries where the ſexes are allowed freely to keep company with each other, ſuch mutual efforts on both ſides, as they appear to be the effects of that company, paſs without exciting

CHAP. XXII.

any wonder; but when we conſider that in the Eaſt women ſhould take the trouble to decorate and adorn themſelves, when they are certain that theſe decorations and ornaments cannot be ſeen by the other ſex, we are aſtoniſhed. That women, however, do ſo, is an inconteſtible fact; and ſo powerful in the female breaſt is the paſſion of being admired, that ſhould a woman, as it frequently happens in Aſia, have only once in twenty years a chance of being ſeen and exciting that paſſion, ſhe would every day during that time uſe all poſſible endeavours to put herſelf in a condition to excite it. The Abbe Lambert, in his account of the manners and cuſtoms of the Eaſt, obſerves of the Chineſe women, that though they are certain they can be ſeen by none but their female domeſtics, yet they every morning paſs ſeveral hours in dreſſing and adorning themſelves.

Chineſe head-dreſs coſtly and elegant.

THOUGH the Chineſe are, perhaps, the moſt regularly œconomical people on the globe, yet the dreſs of their women, and particularly the ornaments of their heads, are ſtrong inſtances of that love of finery and ſhow, which has ever prevailed in the Eaſt.

Eaſt. The head-dreſs of their ladies commonly conſiſts of ſeveral ringlets of hair varioufly diſpoſed, and every where ornamented with ſmall bunches of gold or ſilver flowers. Some of them adorn their heads with the figure of a fabulous bird made of gold or ſilver, according to the quality of the perſon, which has a groteſque though magnificent appearance. Ladies of the firſt rank ſometimes have ſeveral of thoſe birds faſtened together in the ſhape of a crown, the workmanſhip of which is exquiſitely curious. Young ladies generally wear a kind of crown made of paſteboard, covered with ſilk, ornamented with pearls, diamonds, and other jewels; and on the top of the head a bunch of flowers, either natural or artificial, in the middle of which is ſtuck ſmall wires with ſparkling jewels faſtened on their points. The dreſs of their bodies, though often made of the richeſt materials, and decorated, or rather loaded, with the moſt coſtly ornaments, is to the laſt degree clumſy and inelegant; our readers, however, will form a better idea of it by looking at a Chineſe figure, than we can convey by the moſt laboured deſcription.

CHAP. XXII.

Female dreſs in the Eaſt Indies.

In that extenſive part of the Eaſt Indies formerly ſubject to the Moguls, the ſex, though confined, are peculiarly attentive to ornament. Their garments are made of the fineſt ſilks, richly flowered with gold and ſilver, and fitted to the ſhape with a degree of eaſe and elegance, which ſhews, that while they take nature for their model, their taſte in imitating her is far from being contemptible. About the middle, they wear a girdle elegantly embroidered, at the end of which, where it is faſtened before, hangs a globe of gold, or a large pearl; but their greateſt attention ſeems to be paid to their hair, which they dreſs in a variety of forms, as pyramids, triangles, creſcents, or in the figure of ſome favourite flower or ſhrub. This is done by gold buckles and wires intermixed with diamonds, and is a work of much time and no leſs dexterity, though after all, more eaſily demoliſhed than an head-dreſs of any other faſhion. Beſides theſe tedious and expenſive methods, they have a leſs difficult and more common way of dividing their hair into treſſes, which flow with careleſs eaſe upon their ſhoulders, and to which they tie precious ſtones, and little plates of gold; when thus dreſſed, to

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be able to move the head in ſuch a manner as to ſhew to the beſt advantage all its ſplendour and magnificence, is a female art not leſs difficultly attained, than the proper management of the fan was formerly in Europe, or the taking ſnuff with ſuch an air as to diſplay in the moſt enchanting manner a fine hand, and a finer diamond ring.

Ear and noſe jewels both uſed in ſome parts of the world.

It has been a cuſtom time immemorial, for women to pierce their ears, in order to hang to them ſome trinket, which either gratified their vanity, or was ſuppoſed to add ſome additional luſtre to their charms; but this cuſtom of giving torture by a ridiculous inciſion, and adding a ſuperfluous load to nature, has not been confined to the ears only, the ancient inhabitants of the Eaſt had noſe as well as ear jewels, and in ſeveral parts of the world we find the cuſtom continued to this day. In ſome parts of the Indies they pierce one noſtril, and put into it a gold ring, in which is ſet the largeſt and fineſt diamond they can procure. Our late adventurers in queſt of diſcoveries to the South Sea, met a few inſtances of men who had ſomething like a feather ſtuck acroſs through both noſtrils; and in New South

CHAP. XXII.

South Wales, it was almoſt common for the men to thruſt the bone of ſome animal, five or ſix inches long, and nearly as thick as one's finger, through their noſes, which ſo filled the noſtrils, that they not only ſnuffled diſagreeably, but were alſo obliged conſtantly to keep their mouths open for breath. In Caramania-deſerta, not contented as in ſome countries with one ring, they make a ſecond hole on the tip of the noſe, and there faſten a ſecond ring, which they adorn with a ſprig of diamonds or of flowers, ſo as intirely to cover one ſide of the noſe. The women of Perſia, and of ſeveral other countries, ſtill continue the ancient cuſtom of wearing noſe jewels.

To us Europeans, who have hardly left any part of the body except the noſe without its particular ornaments and decorations, a noſe embelliſhed with jewels, or other trinkets, has an exceeding groteſque appearance; but this is only the effect of cuſtom, from which the mind generally imbibes the ideas of beauty, elegance, and even of utility and neceſſity. Thus the Hottentot is perſuaded that beauty is greatly augmented by a proper quantity of greaſe and urine,

urine. At Smyrna, the women imagine it conſiſts in a plump fat body, with prominent breaſts. The Dutchman finds elegance in a large pair of trunk breeches; the miſer utility in that hoarded ſtore, which, even though ſtarving, he dare not make uſe of; and the man of faſhion thinks his coach almoſt as neceſſary, as the porter does his legs and his ſhoulders.

But though both ſexes in ſome parts of the Eaſt Indies adorn their noſes, the ladies do not forget their ears alſo, which they generally pierce as in Europe, and load with gold and jewels. They likewiſe wear various kinds of necklaces, bracelets, and rings, many of which are of immenſe value there, and would be ſtill more ſo among us. They have a variety of paints to improve the charms of nature, theſe they mix and lay ſo artfully upon their cheeks and eyes, that it is exceedingly difficult to diſcover them; they likewiſe paint the extremities of the nails, but in this inſtance, departing entirely from nature, they lay on a fine red ſo thick, that on the ſlighteſt view it appears to be the work of art. Black moles on the face, have long been conſidered in the Eaſt

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CHAP. XXII.

as particularly beautiful. In the ſongs of their poets, and works of their painters, this fancied elegance is ſeldom forgot; and to ſupply it when wanting, was probably the cauſe which firſt introduced black patches. Their poets alſo frequently mention falſe hair and feathers, ornaments, of which we at preſent ſo much avail ourſelves. But beſides the arts of decoration and dreſs, the eaſtern women have, as in all other places, various other methods of attracting the attention. In Europe, a fine lady ſometimes draws the eyes of the multitude upon her by an elegant ſnuff-box, or a brilliant ring; in Aſia, ſhe accompliſhes the ſame purpoſe by a liberal uſe of betel, a root chewed by all ranks and conditions, and with which the more highly a female is ſcented, the more ſhe is in the ton of her country.

But betel is not the only thing which the ladies depend on to draw the attention of the men, they alſo uſe for this purpoſe a great variety of the moſt coſtly eſſences and perfumes, whoſe aromatic flavour is brought to the higheſt perfection by an indulgent climate and a vertical ſun. Of theſe they are ſo exceedingly fond, that the expence of

of perfumes often exceeds that of cloaths and jewels; for they are ſeldom without ſome perfumed flower, or fruit, in their hands; when they have none of theſe, they hold a phial of precious eſſence, which they, from time to time, ſprinkle on their garments, although they are perfumed afreſh every time they put them on. They have likewiſe in the Eaſt peculiar modes of attracting our ſex by the voluptuouſneſs of their figures, by their manners, and by their converſation; all which are calculated to excite paſſion and deſire. Among the Balliaderes, or dancing girls of the Eaſt, we meet with a piece of dreſs, or ornament, of a very particular nature. To prevent their breaſts from growing too large, or ill-ſhaped, they incloſe them in caſes made of exceeding light wood, which are joined together, and buckled behind; theſe caſes are ſo ſmooth and pliable, that they yield to the various attitudes of the body, without being flattened, or injuring the delicacy of the ſkin; the outſide of them is covered with gold leaf, and ſtudded with diamonds. This ornament is well calculated to prevent the laxity induced by a hot climate, and while it thus preſerves the beauties of nature, it does not ſo much

CHAP. XXII.

conceal them as to hinder the heavings and palpitations of the boſom from being perceived.

Eaſtern magnificence; ſketches of it.

WERE we to ſurvey all Aſia, we would every where meet with the ſtrongeſt proofs of ſplendour and magnificence; but we ſhall finiſh what we have to ſay of it, by a relation of the ſtate in which the Portugueze originally found Ormus, when they firſt ſailed into the Gulph of Perſia. "The "ſtreets were covered with mats, and in "ſome places with carpets; and the linen "awnings, which were ſuſpended from the "tops of the houſes, prevented any incon- "venience from the heat of the ſun. Indian "cabinets, ornamented with gilded vaſes, "or china filled with flowering ſhrubs, or "aromatic plants, adorned their apartments; "camels, laden with water, were ſtationed "in the public ſquares; Perſian wines, per- "fumes, and all the delicacies of the table, "were furniſhed in the greateſt abundance, "and they had the muſic of the Eaſt in its "higheſt perfection. Ormus was crowded "with beautiful women from all parts of "Aſia, who were inſtructed from their in- "fancy in all the arts of varying and "heigh-

"heightening the pleaſures of voluptuous "love. Univerſal opulence, an extenſive "commerce, a refined luxury, politeneſs in "the men, and gallantry in the women, uni- "ted all their attractions to make this city "the ſeat of pleaſure."

Dreſs of the women of America.

Of all the people with which we are as yet acquainted, the inhabitants of the extenſive continent of America, ſeem to be in general the leaſt favoured by nature, and to have made themſelves the leaſt aſſiſtance by art. In many places, ſeemingly but a little raiſed in the faculties of their minds above the beaſts of their foreſts, they are not yet acquainted with the uſe of fire, of houſes, or of clothing; and where they are acquainted with them, it is only in ſo imperfect a manner, that they do not derive from them half the advantages they are capable of affording. In ſuch a condition, and ſituated in regions inhoſpitably barren, they have few materials for dreſs, and ſtill leſs ingenuity in uſing them; as the appetite for dreſs, however, is viſible among them, it frequently exerts itſelf in forming, what in Europe would be reckoned the moſt groteſque and laughable appearances.

CHAP. XXII.

As the Americans are more the children of untutored nature, and conſequently have a greater ſimilarity in their dreſs and ornaments than any other people, we ſhall only give a ſhort and general deſcription of them, without deſcending into the differences which diſtinguiſh the various tribes and nations from each other. There are few American ornaments in more eſteem than garters; theſe the women make of buffaloes hair, and adorn them as highly as they can with beads and ſhells, taking care at the ſame time to diſpoſe their other garments ſo as to ſhew them to the beſt advantage; beſides theſe, they wear alſo pieces of deer-ſkin, which they tie to the outſides of their legs, and hang to them tortoiſe-ſhells, pebbles, and beads of various colours and ſizes. But the legs are not the only parts of the body decorated with this kind of finery; both ſexes are frequently ſeen ſo loaded with ſhells from head to foot, as to excite the laughter of an European. This cuſtom of adorning themſelves with beads and ſhells may, however, not be altogether the effect of oſtentation and love of finery; beads and ſhells are their current money, and a perſon thus adorned, perhaps, carries his whole

whole property about him, the better to ſecure it from being ſtolen. CHAP. XXII.

BESIDES the ornaments that are the produce of their country, the Canadians of both ſexes, ſince they became acquainted with the Europeans, are exceedingly fond of linen ſhirts: they do not wear them under their garments as with us, but hang them on over the whole, and neither change nor put them off till they drop piece by piece from their backs. Several of the men take much pains in adorning their hair with trinkets, and dreſſing it in a variety of fantaſtical figures, by the help of furs and feathers. The women ſcarcely ever decorate theirs with any thing but greaſe and powder of ſpruce bark, except upon extraordinary occaſions, when they daub it over with vermillion, or tie it up in the ſkin of an eel, or a ſnake, ſo as to make it reſemble the queue which the gentlemen wear in Europe. On days of particular feſtivity, they ſometimes dreſs themſelves in robes painted with figures of birds and other animals, and ornamented with ſhells and pieces of porcelain; theſe are frequently bordered with porcupines hair, curiouſly

deſigned,

CHAP. XXII.

deſigned, and dyed of the moſt gaudy and ſhining colours, ſo artfully intermixed, as to have no inelegant appearance.

BEFORE they were ſupplied with other ornaments from Europe, the Americans of both ſexes uſed ſuch ſhining ſtones as were the produce of their own country, tying them to their hair, to their noſes and ears, with the fibres of a deer's ſinew; but ſince our intercourſe with them, they have uſed braſs and ſilver rings for their ears and their fingers; beſides which, they faſten large buttons and knobs of braſs to various parts of their attire, ſo as to make a tinkling when they walk or run. Both ſexes eſteem theſe as ornaments of the moſt diſtinguiſhing nature, and load themſelves with them in the utmoſt proportion that their ability will reach to; ſo that our European traders judge of the fortune of an American by the trinkets on the crown of his head, at his ears, wriſts, fingers, &c.; by the quantity of red paint daubed on his face, and by the finery at the collar of his ſhirt, if he happens to have one, which is far from being always the caſe.

ALTHOUGH

CHAP. XXII.

Although the ſame attire, and the ſame ornaments, are indiſcriminately uſed both by the male and female ſavages, yet their dreſs is not altogether without ſexual diſtinctions. The women bore ſmall holes in the lobes of the ears for their ear-rings as in Europe; the hole which the men make for that purpoſe extends almoſt from one extremity of the external ear to the other. The men are frequently decorated with plumes of feathers and enſigns of war on their heads; the women, though they ſometimes make uſe of feathers, ſeldom or never wear them in this manner. The men rarely appear without ſome of their warlike weapons, or the trophies of their victory faſtened to various parts of their bodies; the women ſcarcely ever appear armed but in caſes of neceſſity, and as rarely wear any of the ſpoils of the ſlain.

Diſtinction of the ſexes by dreſs.

Some nations of ſavages, not contented with ſuch ornaments as are looſe and eaſily detached from the body, have contrived to ornament the body itſelf by inciſions, ſtainings, and paint. The Chileſian women of the province of Cuyo, and the plains on the Eaſt ſide of the Andes, paint ſome part of

Stains in the ſkin a part of the ornament of ſavages.

CHAP. XXII.

of their faces of a green colour. In ſeveral of the iſlands lately diſcovered in the Great Southern Ocean, a variety of indelible ſtains are made in different parts of the body, by certain materials which ſink into ſmall punctures made in the ſkin. In Otaheite, this operation is called *tattowing*, and reckoned ſo eſſentially neceſſary, that none of either ſex muſt be without it, eſpecially the women, who are generally marked in the form of a Z on every part of their toes and fingers. But the part on which theſe ornaments are laviſhed with the greateſt profuſion, is the breech, which, in both ſexes is ſtained with a deep black; and above that, as high as the ſhort rib, are drawn arches which take a lighter ſhade as they ariſe, and ſeem to be diſtinguiſhing marks of honour, as they are ſhown by both ſexes with an oſtentatious pleaſure.

THESE are almoſt the only ornaments uſed in this part of the globe; as to the dreſs, it differs little in the two ſexes, and conſiſts moſtly of looſe garments, ſuch as we have already ſeen were uſed by almoſt all nations in their rude and unpoliſhed ſtate. People of condition, however, in Otaheite

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are diſtinguiſhed, not as among the ancients, by their great variety of changes of raiment, but by the quantity which they wear at once; ſome of them wrap around their bodies ſeveral webs of cloth, each eight or ten yards long, and two broad, and throw a large piece looſely over all by way of a cloak, or even two of theſe pieces, if they wiſh to appear in extraordinary ſtate. Thus the magnificence of unpoliſhed nations ſeems always to have exerted itſelf in quantity only. Abraham dreſſed a whole calf, and ſerved it up at an entertainment to two angels. Joſeph helped his brother Benjamin to five times as much victuals as his brethren; and the ſame idea of quantity ſeems to have been regarded in all the feaſtings of the heroes of Homer, and ſome other of the ancients; nay, it deſcended among the Greeks, even to the periods of their greateſt cultivation. One of the diſtinguiſhing privileges of the Spartan kings was, that they were to ſit firſt down to a feaſt, and be ſerved with a double portion of whatever was at table. As theſe diſtinctions of rank by the quantity of dreſs only, muſt, in hot countries, be exceedingly troubleſome, the ladies of Otaheite always uncover

CHAP. XXII.

cover themſelves as low as the waiſt in the evening, throwing off every thing with the ſame eaſe and freedom as our ladies would lay aſide a glove, cloak, or ſupernumerary handkerchief.

Singular kind of head-dreſs in Otaheite.

SINGULAR as this mode of dreſſing and undreſſing may appear to us, that of decorating their heads is hardly leſs ſo. They ſometimes wear upon them little turbans, but their more common dreſs, and what they chiefly pride themſelves in, is long threads of human hair, plaited ſo as hardly to be thicker than ſewing ſilk, and often a mile or more in length, without a ſingle knot; theſe they wrap round their heads in a manner that ſhews they are neither void of taſte nor elegance, ſticking flowers and ſprigs of evergreen among them, to give them the greater variety. European ſatiriſts are apt to declaim againſt our ladies for ſpending ſo much time under the operation of a French hair-dreſſer, while even theſe untutored people cannot be ſuppoſed to employ much leſs in twiſting ſo many yards of rope round their heads, and giving it the neceſſary decorations.

CHAP. XXII.

Remarks on the dreſs of Europe.

We left our ſketches of the dreſs of Europe at thoſe periods of time, called the Middle Ages; and ſhall now reſume them at theſe, which have only a little preceded our own. Should we endeavour to give a minute deſcription of the preſent dreſs of Europe, the attempt would be like painting the colour of a camelion, or the ſhape of a proteus; both which would be changed long before we could finiſh our taſk. We ſhall, therefore, content ourſelves with a few general obſervations on the ſubject.

When the revival of arts and ſciences began to poliſh the minds of our anceſtors, and to give birth to new ideas; when trade and commerce began to furniſh new materials, for the more elegant modes of decoration, the paſſions of the ſex for dreſs began alſo to aſſume new and unreſtrainable powers, and often hurried them to ſuch unjuſtifiable lengths, that, deaf to reaſon, the embelliſhments which they thought were wanting, in order to make the ſame brilliant appearance as their neighbours, could not be diſpenſed with; though purchaſed at the price of reputation, and the ruin of fortune. Greece and Rome had often ſuffered by the ſame

CHAP. XXII.

evil; and had often enacted ſumptuary laws to reſtrain it: ſuch laws now became abſolutely neceſſary in Europe, and ſeveral of them were publiſhed by Henry the Fourth, of France; who ſaw, with regret, the women of his exhauſted kingdom, exhauſting themſelves ſtill more by the extravagance of their dreſs. He was not, however, the firſt potentate who had recourſe to this method; ſeveral, both before and after him, publiſhed edicts, aſcertaining the utmoſt limits of finery to which every rank and condition of life might proceed; and beyond which they were not to go, without ſubjecting themſelves to a ſevere penalty.

When we conſider, how much greater the value of money was in the times we are ſpeaking of, than at preſent, it will appear, that women were then much more coſtly in their dreſs than at this period, ſo much declaimed againſt. In the fifteenth century, Laura, the celebrated miſtreſs of the no leſs celebrated Petrarch, wore on her head a ſilver coronet, and tied up her hair with knots of jewels. "Her dreſs," ſays the Author of the life of Petrarch, "was magnificent; "but, in particular, ſhe had ſilk gloves bro-

"caded

"caded with gold;" though at this time ſilk was ſo ſcarce, that a pound of it ſold for near four pounds ſterling, and none but the nobility were allowed to wear it. Women of inferior rank wore crowns of flowers, and otherwiſe dreſſed themſelves with all the magnificence which circumſtances and ſumptuary laws would allow. In the ſixteenth century we have a particular detail of the wedding cloaths of Mary, daughter of Sir John Neville, when married to Sir Gervaſe Clifton, the whole expence of which amounted to twenty-five pounds twelve ſhillings and threepence; a ſum equal in value to about ten times the ſame quantity of our preſent money. The chief articles with which the bride was furniſhed were ruſſet and white damaſk, black velvet bonnets and furs of various animals, as white hares, white lambs, black rabbits, &c.; and it is worth remarking, that in the whole catalogue there is only two yards of ribbon. A wedding-ring made of *gold* is particularly taken notice of; a circumſtance, from which it would appear, that the generality of wedding-rings in thoſe times were of ſome inferior metal.

A MOST

CHAP. XXII.

Many new materials for dreſs and ornament brought into uſe.

A MOST extenſive acquiſition to the materials of the toilette, was now introduced; this was linen, which had hitherto been known in Europe only as a curioſity; or at moſt as a decoration of the elevated and opulent: cambrics and lawns ſoon followed, as an improvement; and after theſe, fine laces were invented, of which women, almoſt ever ſince, have ſo much availed themſelves. The art of weaving ſilk, ſo as to make garments, had, for ſome time, been known; but that of making it into ribbons, ſeems to have been yet in its infancy; they have ſince, however, become ſo general, that they make an indiſpenſible part of the dreſs of every female, from the higheſt to the loweſt ſtation. Diamonds had long been known in the Eaſt, and ſome centuries before this, were introduced into Europe; but the art of poliſhing them was unknown; and in their natural ſtate they did not ſhew half their luſtre*. It was not

* They preſerve, in the treaſury of St. Denis, a claſp of the mantle which the kings of France uſed to wear on the day of their coronation: this piece is very ancient; and has what is called, four natural points. There is likewiſe, in the ſame treaſury, a relic almoſt as ancient, and adorned with eight natural points; but all theſe ſtones are ſmall, black, and no way agreeable to the eye. Theſe, and ſome

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long after, however, that the art of poliſhing them, by means of their own duſt, and ſo giving them all their diſtinguiſhing brilliancy, was diſcovered. All theſe, and ſome others of leſs importance, were acquiſitions to the ſtock of female ornament, and rendered the buſineſs of the toilette a matter that required more time, as well as more taſte, than it had ever done before. From the fourteenth century, in which America and the Indies were diſcovered, to the preſent time, the variations of female dreſs and ornament have been more owing to the inconſtancy of manners, and inſtability of faſhion, than to the addition of any new materials. CHAP. XXII.

ALTHOUGH it is not conſiſtent with the plan we have laid down, to give a particular deſcription of all the different forms that dreſs has aſſumed, in conſequence of different materials and different faſhions. We think it incumbent on us to make ſome

others, preſerved in the cabinets of the curious, in various parts of Europe, fully demonſtrate, that even the diamond, before the art of giving it a proper poliſh was diſcovered, was far from being that brilliant, and almoſt ineſtimable jewel which it is at preſent, when properly improved by the art of the lapidary.

obſerva-

CHAP. XXII.

obſervations on theſe forms, in a few of the ages immediately preceding thoſe in which we live. In the reign of Henry the Second, of Richard the Firſt, and of John, the ladies wore long cloaks, which being thrown over their ſhoulders, hung down to their heels behind, and were ſcarcely viſible before. In the time of Richard the Second, Chaucer deſcribes the dreſs of the women as highly immodeſt. Queen Anne, conſort of Richard the Second, firſt introduced the cuſtom of riding, as preſently uſed by the ladies; before her time, they rode with a leg on each ſide of the horſe: ſhe likewiſe brought into faſhion high head-dreſſes, in the ſhape of a ſugar-loaf, with ſtreamers which wantoned behind them in the wind; and gowns with long trains, which in walking were turned up, and tied to the girdle. Queen Mary ſeems to have been the firſt who brought in the great ſtarched ruff, which was alſo worn during the reign of Elizabeth, in whoſe time alſo the ladies were muffled up to the chin, with long picked ſtays and hoop petticoats. Elizabeth is alſo ſaid to have been the firſt who introduced ſtockings into England, nothing being wore before her time but hoſe, which were breeches and ſtockings

ſtockings all of one piece. In the time of James the Firſt, the tub farthingale firſt appeared; it made the women look ſo large round the hips, that the lady of Sir Peter Wyche being introduced to one of the Sultanas at the Port, was aſked by her if all the Engliſh-women were made in a manner ſo extraordinary. In the laſt century, both ſexes allowed their hair to hang down over their foreheads, till it reached their eyebrows. Male arrogance is apt to ſuppoſe that whim and caprice have dictated every faſhion that the other ſex have followed; but have they leſs dictated to us, or have we been ſlower in obeying them? In the time of Edward the Third, the men wore hoods buttoned under the chin, ſtockings of various colours, girdles of gold and ſilver, and ſhoes with long toes turned up and faſtened to their knees with chains of gold. Chaucer mentions, that the cloaths of the men were in his time ſcalloped, punched, chiſeled full of holes, and trailing upon the ground. Henry the Fifth ordained that no man ſhould wear ſhoes more than ſix inches wide at the toe. Edward the Fourth ordered that no gown or mantle ſhould be uſed, which was not long enough to cover

CHAP. XXII.

the buttocks and other parts not uſually expoſed to view. Did the fair ſex ever exhibit faſhions more whimſical? Did they dreſs themſelves leſs agreeably to nature?

All kinds of ornament deſpiſed in the time of Cromwell.

ALMOST every religion, which had been promulgated, previous to that of Chriſtianity, had interwoven, in its eſſence, a number of ceremonies, where grandeur and magnificence were oſtentatiouſly diſplayed. Theſe religions, therefore, inſtead of diſcouraging, rather encouraged ornament and finery. But the Author of the Chriſtian ſyſtem, having taught, by his example, as well as his doctrine, the utmoſt plainneſs and ſimplicity, it, in time, became faſhionable for ſuch of the members of that ſyſtem, as had more zeal than underſtanding, to exclaim, in the bittereſt terms, againſt every ſpecies of dreſs that had any other object in view than to cover ſhame, and defend from cold. This rage of turning all things into the moſt primitive ſimplicity, ſeemed riſing to the zenith of its glory, about the time the Protector began to make ſome figure in England. During his adminiſtration, it openly triumphed over ſenſe, reaſon, and decency. Women were then in ſo much diſgrace,

disgrace, that they were denied all kinds of ornament; and even the beauties bestowed by nature, were considered as criminal disadvantages to the fair possessors, and sufficient motives to induce every Christian to shun their company; because it was impossible to be in it without sinning.

The pulpits often echoed the following sentiments, that man being conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity, is a slave to the flesh, till regenerated by the spirit; that it was his complaisance for woman that first wrought his debasement, that he ought not therefore to glory in his shame, nor love the fountain of his corruption; that he should not marry on account of love, affection, or the social joys of wedlock, but purely to increase the number of the saints, which he should never attempt to do without prayer and humiliation, that his offspring might thereby avoid the curse. Such being the notions instilled into the people, the most virtuous emotions of nature were considered as arising from original guilt, and beauty avoided as an instrument in the hands of Satan, to seduce the hearts of the faithful. Even the women, caught with the unnatural

CHAP. XXII.

contagion, laid aſide the ornaments of their ſex, and endeavoured to make themſelves appear diſguſting by humiliation and faſting; nay, ſome of them were ſo much afraid of ornament, that they even conſidered cloaths of any kind as a ſinful decoration, and a lady, full of that idea, came into the church where Cromwell ſat, in the condition of our original mother before ſhe plucked the fig-leaf, that ſhe might be, as ſhe ſaid, *a ſign to the people.*

The paſſions take an oppoſite direction.

But as the human paſſions, like ſprings, the more forcibly they have been bent, fly the more violently in the oppoſite direction, ſo the reſtoration was no ſooner brought about, than all this public enthuſiaſm vaniſhed, and elegance of dreſs and levity of manners, ſoon became more the faſhion than ſlovenlineſs and puritaniſm had been before. Pleaſure was now the univerſal object, and the pleaſure of love took the lead of all others. But beauty, unconnected with virtue, was the object of this love, it was therefore void of honour or morality, in conſequence of which, female virtue, robbed of its reward, became leſs inflexible, and a total degeneracy of manners enſued.

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CHAP. XXII.

Different dreſſes in different periods and countries.

In every country where dreſs is under the direction of taſte and judgment, it is ſo contrived as neither altogether to conceal, nor altogether to diſcover, the beauties of the female form. This general rule, however, has not been without exceptions; in all countries, antiquated prudes, and women outrageouſly virtuous, muffle themſelves like Egyptian mummies, and exclaim in the bitterneſs of their hearts againſt the nakedneſs of the reſt of the ſex*; while on the other hand, women of leſs rigid principles, and thoſe abandoned to proſtitution, throwing aſide all decency, ſeem to wiſh that the whole female toilette were reduced to the original fig-leaf. Some nations too, are leſs delicate in this reſpect than others. The Italians and French have ever been remarkably ſo, while the Spaniſh have fallen into the oppoſite extreme. At Venice, the ladies in the beginning of the laſt century, dreſſed in ſuch light thin ſtuffs, that not only the ſhape of the body, but even the colour of the ſkin,

* In the latter end of the fourteenth century, a monk of the order of St. Auguſtine, who had acquired great reputation for piety declaimed ſo ſucceſsfully at Pavia againſt the ornaments of the times, that many ladies renouncing their finery, appeared in all the ſimplicity which this ſuppoſedly inſpired monk dictated to them.

was

CHAP. XXII.

was eaſily ſeen through them; and at this day the dreſs of their modeſt women, is hardly more decent than that of our common proſtitutes. The French ladies are little leſs diſtinguiſhed for their looſeneſs of dreſs than their neighbours the Italians; almoſt the only difference is, that, more light and fantaſtic, they have flown with greater rapidity from one faſhion to another. In the fourteenth century, they appeared half naked at public aſſemblies, and in the public walks dreſſed ſo much like the men, that they could hardly be diſtinguiſhed from them but by the voice and complexion. Such have long been the modes of dreſſing in Italy and France, as to endeavour to ſhow every charm which can with any tolerable degree of decency be diſplayed. While in Spain, where the ſpirit of chivalry is hardly extinguiſhed, and where the women conſequently ſtill retain a little of the romantic dignity which was annexed to it, ſo far from ſhowing their nakedneſs, they have hardly as yet condeſcended even to ſhow their faces to the other ſex.

THOUGH the French have at preſent taken the lead in dictating every fantaſtical faſhion

faſhion to the reſt of Europe, it would ſeem that formerly the Italians were not leſs diſtinguiſhed on this account. Petrarch deſcribing the dreſs of Italy in his time, mentions ſhoes with pointed toes, ſo long that they reached to the knees; head-dreſſes with wings; and adds, that the men furrowed their foreheads with thoſe ivory needles with which the women faſtened their hair; and ſqueezed their ſtomachs with machines of iron. The pointed ſhoes were not, however, peculiar to Italy, they were worn all over Europe; and were either faſtened to the knee, or had an iron ſpike ſometimes an ell long projecting from the toe. Theſe, and the iron machines, were certainly leſs natural, and conſequently more ridiculous, than any fantaſtic faſhion which has appeared in this fantaſtic age.

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Contradictory faſhions in England.

As the ornamental part of dreſs is certainly meant to heighten the beauties of nature, nothing can be more evident than that it ſhould always coincide with her deſigns, wherever ſhe is not defective or luxuriant. Such we preſume are the ideas of true taſte, but ſuch, however, have not always been thoſe adopted by the leaders of faſhions.

CHAP. XXII.

faſhions. Towards the beginning of the preſent century, it ſeems to have been the prevailing opinion, that nature had made the female waiſt greatly too large; to remedy which, the ſtiffeſt ſtays were laced on in the tighteſt manner, leſt the young ladies ſhould become clumſy, or crooked. Towards the middle of the century, it began to be diſcovered, that beſides the uneaſineſs ariſing from being tight laced, it frequently produced the very effects it was intended to prevent. Phyſicians and philoſophers now declaimed againſt ſtays, and they were by many laid aſide with ſuch abhorrence, that the faſhion took quite a different turn. We diſcovered that our mothers had been all in the wrong, and that nature had not made the female waiſt nearly ſo large as it ought to have been; but the ladies ſupplied this defect ſo well with cloaths, that about the years ſeventeen hundred and fifty-nine and ſeventeen hundred and ſixty, every woman, old and young, had the appearance of being big with child. In ten or twelve years the faſhion began to take the oppoſite direction again, and ſmall waiſts are now eſteemed ſo great a beauty, that, in endeavouring to procure them, women have out-

CHAP. XXII.

outdone all the efforts of their grandmothers in the beginning of the century. Such have been the revolutions of the waiſt within theſe fifty years, thoſe of the breaſts and ſhoulders have not been leſs conſpicuous. About the beginning of the century, it was highly indecent to be naked a few inches below the chin. About the middle of it, ſhe was dreſſed in the higheſt taſte who ſhowed the greateſt part of her breaſts and ſhoulders. Some years afterward, every female of whatever condition was muffled up to the ears. At preſent that mode is diſcarded, and the naked breaſts and ſhoulders begin again to appear. As we have already ſeen, that in all countries women have been particularly ſolicitous about the ornament and dreſs of their heads, ſo in ours theſe have been an object of ſo much attention, that the materials employed, and the variations produced by them, are beyond our power to deſcribe. We ſhall only, therefore, obſerve in general, that the head-dreſs of the preſent times has a near reſemblance to that which we have already delineated, as uſed by the ladies of ancient Rome, and conſiſts of ſo much wool, falſe hair, pomatum and paſte, and of ſo many quilts, combs, pins, curls, ribbons,

CHAP. XXII.

laces, and other materials, that the head of a modern lady in full dreſs, is commonly ſomething more than one-third of the length of her whole figure. We muſt, however, obſerve, in juſtice to the ſex, that ſuch prepoſterous modes of dreſſing are not peculiar to them alone; the men have not been leſs rapid in their changes, nor have theſe changes given proofs of a more elegant taſte, or a more ſolid judgment.

But beſides the methods of ornament and dreſs common to all nations, the women of Europe have a variety of others, by which they endeavour to attract the attention and attach the heart. Among thoſe we may reckon every genteel and polite female accompliſhment, ſuch as muſic, drawing, dancing, to all which we may add that correſpondent ſoftneſs of body and of mind, that radiance which ſparkles in their eyes, and the melody that flows from their tongue, their unaffected modeſty, and the nameleſs other qualities which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh them from all the women who are educated only to become ſlaves, and miniſters of pleaſure, to the tyrant man.

CHAP. XXII.

We ſhall finiſh this ſubject by obſerving, that though almoſt in every country the ſexes are diſtinguiſhed from each other by their dreſs and ornaments, yet another diſtinction which is of ſome uſe in ſociety, ſeems but little attended to. In many places there is no diſcovering a married woman from a virgin. In England, and ſeveral other countries where the marriage ceremony is performed with a ring, this being perpetually worn, is, when a lady has not a glove upon her hand, a mark by which ſhe diſcovers herſelf to be married; but in Scotland, and other places where no ring is uſed at the marriage ceremony, no particular ring is uſed afterwards. The Swiſs are, in ſome parts of their country, the only people we have met with, who ſeem to think it neceſſary that married and unmarried women ſhould be viſibly diſtinguiſhed from each other; the unmarried ſeparate their long hair into two diviſions, and allow it to hang at full length braided with ribbons; after marriage theſe treſſes are no longer allowed to hang down, but are twiſted round the head, and fixed at the crown with large ſilver pins: hence a married woman is eaſily diſ-

CHAP. XXII.

tinguiſhed from a ſingle one, and a man runs no riſque of accoſting a wife in the language which he means only to ſpeak to a virgin.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Courtſhip.

CHAP. XXIII.

Idea of love.

OF all that variety of paſſions which ſo differently agitate the human breaſt, none work a greater change on the ſentiments, none more dulcify and expand the feelings, than love. Being compounded of all the tender, of all the humane and diſintereſted virtues, it calls forth at once all their ſoft ideas, and exerts all their good offices*. The declaration of this ſocial and benevolent paſſion to the object that inſpires it, is what we commonly call courtſhip, and the time of this courtſhip, notwithſtanding the many embarraſſments and uneaſineſſes which attend it, is generally conſidered as one of the happieſt periods of human life, at leaſt ſo long as the lover is ſupported by hope, that pleaſant delirium of the ſoul.

* The reverend Mr. Sterne, author of Triſtram Shandy, uſed to ſay, That he never felt the vibrations of his heart ſo much in uniſon with virtue, as when he was in love; and that whenever he did a mean or unworthy action, on examining himſelf ſtrictly, he found that at that time he was looſe from every ſentimental attachment to the fair ſex.

THOUGH

CHAP. XXIII.

That males may ask, and females refuse, seems a general law.

THOUGH the declaration of a passion so benign and gentle as that which we have now described, cannot in either sex be considered as shameful or dishonourable; yet the great Author of nature, throughout the wide extent of his animated works, appears to have placed the privilege of declaring in the male, and that of refusing in the female. Among the most savage brute animals, this privilege of the female is seldom infringed, but among human savages it is totally taken from her; she is neither left at liberty to chuse for herself, nor to refuse the husband whom her father or other relations appoint for her.

THOUGH it is presumable, that the mutual inclination of the sexes to each other, is nearly equal in each; yet as we commonly see the declaration of that inclination made by the men, let us enquire, whether this is the effect of custom, or of nature? If what we have just now observed be a general fact, that the males of all animals first discover their passion to the females, then it will follow, that this is the effect of nature. But if, on the contrary, it be true, as ome travellers affirm, that, in several savage

ſavage countries, the women not only declare their paſſions with as much eaſe and freedom as the men, but alſo frequently endeavour to force the men to their embraces, then it will ſeem to be the effect of cuſtom. Cuſtom, however, that whimſical and capricious tyrant of the mind, ſeldom ariſes out of nothing; and in caſes where nature is concerned, frequently has nature for her baſis. Allowing then that it is cuſtom; which through a long ſucceſſion of ages has, in Europe, and many other parts of the world, placed the right of aſking in men; yet that very cuſtom, in our opinion, may fairly be traced to nature; for nature, it is plain, has made man more bold and intrepid than woman, leſs ſuſceptible of ſhame, and better fitted for almoſt all the active ſcenes of life. It is, therefore, highly probable, that, conſcious of theſe qualities, he at firſt aſſumed the right of aſking; a right to which cuſtom has at laſt given him a kind of excluſive privilege.

Courtſhip in ancient times carried on by proxy.

TAKING it for granted then, that the declaration of the ſentiment of love, is a privilege of the men, founded on nature, and ſanctified by cuſtom, the various modes

of

CHAP. XXIII.

of making that declaration by them, and of accepting or refuſing their offers by the women, were we able to give a perfect account of them, would make one of the moſt curious and entertaining parts of this hiſtory, and equally furniſh matter of ſpeculation for the fine lady and the philoſopher. We can, however, exhibit but little of this entertainment, while we treat of the ancient inhabitants of the Eaſt; who, ſtrangers to ſentiment and delicacy, bought a bride with the ſame diſpaſſionate coolneſs and deliberation, as they would have done an ox or an aſs. And even in the review of other nations, hiſtorical information does not enable us to make it ſo complete as we could wiſh.

When Abraham ſent Eliezer, his ſervant, to court a bride for his ſon Iſaac, it appears, from the ſtory, that ſentiment was entirely excluded; that Abraham had never ſeen Rebecca, knew not whether her perſon and temper were agreeable, nor whether the young couple would be pleaſed with each other; and that the only motive which determined his choice was, becauſe ſhe was his relation. We do not ſo much as hear, that Iſaac was conſulted in the matter; nor is there

there even a ſuſpicion, that he might refuſe or diſlike the wife which his father had ſelected for him. Circumſtances which afford the ſtrongeſt proof that, in thoſe days, love and regard had little or no exiſtence: and likewiſe, that the liberty of choice in matrimony was more reſtricted among the Iſraelites than the neighbouring nations; for Laban, the Midianite, did not ſeem to chuſe for his ſiſter Rebecca, as Abraham had done for his ſon; but aſked her, after Eliezer had made his propoſal, "Whether ſhe would "go with the man?" And the manner in which ſhe conſented, ſhews, that it is to art and refinement we owe the ſeeming reſerve of modern times; and not to honeſt and untutored nature, which is never aſhamed to ſpeak the ſentiments of virtue, "I will go," anſwered ſhe.

FROM this ſtory, of the manner in which Rebecca was ſolicited, we learn two things, which throw much light on the courtſhip of antiquity. The firſt is, that women were not courted in perſon by the lover, but by a proxy; whom he, or his parents, deputed in his ſtead. The ſecond, that this proxy did not, as in modern times, endeavour to gain

CHAP. XXIII.

the affection of the lady he was ſent to, by enlarging on the perſonal properties, and mental qualifications of the lover; but by the richneſs and magnificence of the preſents he made to her and her relations. Preſents have been, from the earlieſt ages, and are to this day, the mode of tranſacting all kinds of buſineſs in the Eaſt. If you go before a ſuperiour, to aſk any favour, or even to require what is your due, you muſt carry a preſent with you, if you wiſh to ſucceed; ſo that courtſhip having been anciently negociated in this manner, it is plain, that it was only conſidered in the ſame light as any other negociable buſineſs, and not as a matter of ſentiment, and of the heart.

It appears, however, that Jacob did not, according to the cuſtom of the times, and after the example of Iſaac his father, court a bride by proxy. He went to viſit her in perſon, and their firſt meeting has in it ſomething very *remarkable*. Lovers, generally, either are chearful, or endeavour to aſſume that appearance; but Jacob drew near, and kiſſed Rachel, *and lift up his voice and wept*. How a behaviour of this kind ſuited the temper of a youthful virgin, in the times of

of primitive ſimplicity, we know not; but may venture to affirm, that a blubbering lover would make but a ridiculous and unengaging figure in the eyes of a modern lady of the ton. In the courtſhip, however, or rather purchaſe of a wife by Jacob, we meet with ſomething like ſentiment; for when he found that he was not poſſeſſed of money or goods, equal to the price which was probably ſet upon her, he not only condeſcended to purchaſe her by ſervitude, but even ſeemed much diſappointed, when the tender-eyed Leah was faithleſsly impoſed upon him, inſtead of the beautiful Rachel. Though the paſſion of Sechem ſeems to have been ſtrongly determined upon Dinah, it does not appear that he ever thought of gaining her affection: he applied to her brethren; he made them advantageous offers for the poſſeſſion of her perſon, regardleſs of her inclination and her heart; "Aſk me never ſo "much dowry," ſaid he, "and I will give "according as you ſhall ſay unto me." But when we conſider, that in the times we are delineating, wives were only looked upon as a kind of ſuperior ſlaves, and not as the ſocial companions of life, and the equal ſharers of good and bad fortune; we eaſily

CHAP. XXIII.

perceive, that ſentiment in the choice, and reciprocal affection in the bargain, were not ſo neceſſary as in our times, when the caſe is happily reverſed.

Caſes where women court the men.

We laid it down before as a general rule, that the declaration of love was at all times, and in all countries, the peculiar privilege of the men; but as all general rules are liable to ſome exceptions, there are alſo a few to this. An Iſraelitiſh widow had, by law, a power of claiming in marriage the brother of her deceaſed huſband. In which caſe, as the privilege of the male was transferred to the female, ſo that of the female was likewiſe transferred to the male; he had the power of refuſing. The refuſal, however, was accompanied with ſome mortifying circumſtances, the woman whom he had thus ſlighted was to come unto him in the preſence of the elders of the city, to looſe the ſhoe from his foot, and ſpit in his face. To a man, by nature bold, intrepid, and inveſted with an unlimited power of aſking, a refuſal was of little conſequence; but to a woman, more timid and modeſt, and whoſe power of aſking was limited to the brethren of her deceaſed huſband, it was not only an affront

affront, but a real injury, as it would naturally raiſe ſuſpicions in every one, that the refuſal aroſe from ſome well-grounded cauſe, and every one would therefore ſo neglect and deſpiſe the woman, that ſhe could have but little chance for another huſband. Hence, perhaps, it was thought neceſſary to fix ſome public ſtigma on the daſtard who, contrary to the gallantry of male nature, ſhunned the addreſſes of a woman. A cuſtom ſomething ſimilar to this obtains at preſent among the Hurons and Iroquois; when a wife dies, the huſband is obliged to marry the ſiſter, or, in her ſtead, the woman whom the family of his deceaſed wife ſhall chuſe for him. A widow is alſo obliged to marry one of the brothers of her deceaſed huſband, if he died without children, and ſhe is ſtill of an age to have any. Exactly the ſame thing takes place in the Caroline iſlands; where, as well as among the Hurons, the woman may demand ſuch brother to marry her, though we are not informed whether they ever exerciſe that power. The Perſians, formerly, celebrated a feſtival called *Merd Giran*, in honour of the angel *Iſmendarmuz*, who was conſidered as the guardian and protector of women; during this feſtival the ſex

CHAP. XXIII.

ſex were honoured with ſeveral very ſingular privileges. Wives were veſted with an almoſt unlimited power, and huſbands were obliged by cuſtom implicitly to obey their orders. Virgins, without offending againſt that delicacy, which, at all other times, laid a reſtraint upon their words and actions, might then, almoſt with a certainty of ſucceſs, pay their addreſſes to ſuch young men as had attracted their hearts: hence it happened, that the marriages made, and engagements entered into, were more numerous about the time of this feſtival, than at any other time of the year. But theſe marriages and engagements, were not altogether a conſequence of the women having then a power of aſking the men, another cauſe contributed alſo to make them more numerous; the angel was ſuppoſed to be peculiarly favourable to all thoſe who added to the gaiety of his feſtival by their nuptials and engagements, and all were willing to purchaſe his favour, when the mode of doing it coincided ſo much with their own inclinations.

In the Iſthmus of Darien, we are told that the right of aſking is lodged in, and promiſcuouſly exerted by both ſexes; who, when

when they feel the paſſion of love, declare it without the leaſt heſitation or embarraſſment. In the Ukrain, it is ſaid, that the women more generally court than the men; when a young woman falls in love with a man, ſhe is not in the leaſt aſhamed to go to his father's houſe, to reveal her paſſion in the moſt tender and pathetic manner, and to promiſe the moſt ſubmiſſive obedience, if he will accept of her for a wife. Should the inſenſible man pretend any excuſe, ſhe tells him ſhe is reſolved never to go out of the houſe till he give his conſent, and accordingly taking up her lodging, remains there; if he ſtill obſtinately refuſes her, his caſe becomes exceedingly diſtreſſing; to turn her out would provoke all her kindred to revenge her honour; ſo that he has no method left but to betake himſelf to flight till ſhe is otherwiſe diſpoſed of. In China, when it is determined to marry one of the princeſſes of the royal family, ſhe is placed behind a curtain, in a large hall; twelve young men of the firſt quality are brought in, and ordered to walk backward and forward, that ſhe may take a proper view of them, which done, ſhe fixes upon two, and of theſe the king chuſes which ſhall be her huſband.

CHAP. XXIII.

FROM the ſtory of Samſon and Delilah, it would ſeem that the power of aſking a female in marriage, was not even veſted in the young men of Iſrael, but in their parents only. Samſon ſaw in Timnah, a woman of the daughters of the Philiſtines who was beautiful, and he came and told his father and his mother, and ſaid, "I have ſeen a "woman of the daughters of the Philiſ- "ſtines, now, therefore, get her for me to "wife." Upon his father and mother ſtarting ſome objections, he did not ſay, I will make uſe of the power lodged in my own hands to obtain her, but repeated, "Get "her for me, for ſhe pleaſeth me well." Had it been a cuſtom for their young men in theſe days to have courted for themſelves, it is highly probable, that, on their firſt objection, he would have applied to Delilah in perſon, inſtead of applying again to his father and mother after a refuſal. Nor was his application to his parents, for their advice and conſent only, otherwiſe he would not have ſaid, Get her for me, but allow me to get her for myſelf.

FROM the ages we have now been delineating, where the ſacred records have afforded

CHAP. XXIII.

afforded us theſe few hints concerning courtſhip, we have ſcarcely any thing more on the ſubject, till we come to the hiſtory of the Greeks. Among the ancient inhabitants of the Eaſt, women were ſo little ſeen by the men, that they had but few opportunities of inſpiring them with that regard and ſentimental feeling which we moderns denominate love, and which cannot properly ariſe from a tranſient glance. When they were accidentally ſeen, they only raiſed that animal appetite, which naturally rages ſo ſtrongly where it is inflamed by the climate, and whetted by a thouſand obſtacles, and which, in ſuch circumſtances, ſcarcely has any choice in its object: hence all the obliging offices of gallantry, and the tender ſenſations of courtſhip, were in their circumſtances, entirely unknown; and as marriage was for the moſt part an act of bargain and ſale, where the woman, in conſideration of a price paid for her to her realtions, was made a ſlave to her huſband, the men did not ſtudy to pleaſe, but to command and enjoy.

Love among the ancients not a ſentimental feeling.

ALTHOUGH ſcarcely any of the males of brute animals will fight with their females

CHAP. XXIII.

Fighting to obtain a bride, an early method of courtſhip.

in order to force them to their embrace, yet all of them, even the moſt weak and timid, will exert every nerve in order to drive away or deſtroy a ſucceſsful rival. Whether this is properly the paſſion of revenge, or of ſelf-love, is not our province here to enquire; we only obſerve, that it ſeems to be a principle ſo univerſally diffuſed through animated nature, and ſo peculiarly ingrafted in man, that the hiſtory of all ages bears the moſt ample teſtimony of its exiſtence.

During the rude and uncultivated ſtate of ſociety in the early ages, property was hardly to be gained but by fighting to acquire, or kept but by fighting to maintain it; and a woman being conſidered as property, it was no uncommon mode of courtſhip, when there was a plurality of lovers, to fight for the poſſeſſion of her alſo. As ſociety began to improve, and fighting became leſs faſhionable, this barbarity declined, and, inſtead of a lover being obliged to fight all his rivals before he could get poſſeſſion of his miſtreſs, it became the cuſtom for the competitors, to give a public teſtimony of their powers and qualifications, in the games and ſpectacles inſtituted

inſtituted on purpoſe to contend for her; a cuſtom, which, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee afterwards, continued long to govern the manners of uncivilized nations; and in compliance with which, it was common for kings and other great people, when they had a daughter to diſpoſe of, to give notice to all ſuch young men of quality, as deſigned to be competitors, at ſuch a time to repair to their courts and caſtles, in order to ſhow their ſkill and dexterity in exerciſes and in arms; and that the prize of beauty would be awarded to him who ſhould excell all the others. But as this method was frequently productive of feuds and animoſities, which were handed down from one generation to another, treaties of marriage by bargain and ſale, and agreed to by the relations of the parties, marked the further progreſs of civil ſociety. Many revolving ages ſaw the ſocial partners of our joys and ſorrows trafficked for in this cool and diſpaſſionate manner; many parts of the world, yet ſtrangers to friendſhip and to love, ſtill retain the deſpicable method; and it is only where the joys of liberty and of freedom ſhed their benign influence, that courtſhip is an act of inclination and of choice, ending

CHAP. XXIII.

in the joining together the hearts as well as hands of the contracting parties.

Courtſhip of the Greeks.

WHAT we have now obſerved concerning the manner of courtſhip, was too much the caſe with the Greeks. In the earlier periods of their hiſtory, their love, if we may call it ſo, was only animal appetite, ſo little reſtrained either by cultivation of manners, or precepts of morality, that they eagerly ſeized almoſt every opportunity that offered, to ſatisfy that appetite by force; and revenged themſelves by murder, upon every one who endeavoured to obſtruct the infamous deſign. Even when they became a more civilized people, their method of making love was more directed to decoy the fair ſex into a compliance with their wiſhes by charms and philtres, than to win them by the nameleſs aſſiduities and good offices of a lover.

As the two ſexes in Greece had but little communication with each other, and a lover was ſeldom favoured with an opportunity of telling his paſſion to his miſtreſs, he uſed to diſcover it by inſcribing her name on the walls of his houſe, on the bark of the trees of

of a public walk, or the leaves of his books. It was cuſtomary for him alſo to deck the door of the houſe where his fair one lived with flowers and garlands, to make libations of wine before it, and ſprinkle the entrance with the ſame liquor, in the manner that was practiſed at the temple of Cupid. Garlands were of great uſe among the Greeks, in the affairs of love. When a man untied his garland, it was a declaration of his having been ſubdued by that paſſion. When a woman compoſed a garland, it was a tacit confeſſion of the ſame thing: and though we are not informed of it, we may preſume that both ſexes had methods of diſcovering by thoſe garlands, not only that they were in love, but the object alſo upon whom it was directed.

Greeks uſed philtres and inchantments to excite love.

SUCH were the common methods of diſcovering the paſſion of love, the methods of proſecuting it were ſtill more extraordinary, and leſs reconcilable to civilization and good principles. When a Grecian ſwain found it difficult to obtain the affection of his miſtreſs, he did not endeavour to become more engaging in his manners and perſon, he did not laviſh his fortune in preſents, or grow

CHAP. XXIII.

grow more obliging and aſſiduous in his addreſſes, but immediately had recourſe to incantations and philtres. In compoſing and diſpenſing the laſt of which, the women of Theſſaly were reckoned the moſt famous. Theſe compoſitions were given by the women to the men, as well as by the men to the women, and were generally ſo violent in their operation, as for ſome time to deprive the perſon who took them of ſenſe, and not uncommonly of life. When thoſe failed, they roaſted an image of wax before the fire, repreſenting the object of their affection, and as this became warm, they flattered themſelves that the perſon repreſented by it would be proportionally warmed with love. When a lover could obtain any thing belonging to his miſtreſs, he imagined it of ſingular advantage, and depoſited it in the earth beneath the threſhold of her door. Beſides theſe, they had a variety of other methods equally ridiculous and unavailing, and of which it would be trifling to give a minute detail; we ſhall therefore juſt take notice as we go along, that ſuch of either ſex as believed themſelves ſeduced into love by the power of philtres and charms, commonly had recourſe to the ſame methods to diſengage

diſengage themſelves, and break the force of thoſe inchantments, which they ſuppoſed operated involuntarily on their inclinations. Thus the old women of Greece, like the lawyers of modern times, were employed to defeat the ſchemes and operations of each other, and like them too, it is preſumable, laughed in their ſleeves, while they hugged the gains that aroſe from vulgar credulity.

In this manner were the affairs of love and gallantry carried on among the Greeks, but we have great reaſon to apprehend that this was the manner in which unlawful amours only were conducted, for the Greek women, as we have already ſeen, had not a power of refuſing ſuch matches as were provided for them by their fathers and guardians; and conſequently a lover who could ſecure theſe on his ſide, was always ſure of obtaining the perſon of his miſtreſs; nor does the complexion of the times, give us any reaſon to ſuppoſe that he was ſolicitous about her eſteem and affection. This being the caſe, courtſhip between the parties themſelves could have little exiſtence; and the methods we have now deſcribed, with a variety of others too tedious to mention,

were

CHAP. XXIII.

were probably theſe by which they courted the unwary female to her ſhame and diſgrace, and not thoſe by which they bartered for that ſuperior ſlave which they called a wife.

Courtſhip of the Romans.

THE Romans, who borrowed moſt of their cuſtoms from the Greeks, alſo followed them in that of endeavouring to conciliate love by the power of philtres and charms; a fact of which we have not the leaſt room to doubt, as there are in Virgil and ſome other of the Latin poets ſo many inſtances that prove it. But it depends not altogether on the teſtimony of the poets; Plutarch tells us, that Lucullus, a Roman general, loſt his ſenſes, by a love potion*; and Caius Caligula, accordingto Suetonius, was thrown into a fit of madneſs by one which was given him by his wife Cæſonia; Lucretius too, according to ſome authors, fell a ſacrifice to the ſame abominable cuſtom. The Romans,

* As the notion of love potions and powders is at this day not altogether eradicated, we take this opportunity of aſſuring our readers, that there is no potion, powder, or medicine known to mankind, that has any ſpecific power of raiſing or determining the affections to any certain object, and that all pretenſions to ſuch are not only vain and illuſive, but illegal, and to the laſt degree dangerous.

like

like the Greeks, made uſe of theſe methods moſtly in their affairs of gallantry and unlawful love; but in what manner they addreſſed themſelves to a lady they intended to marry has not been handed down to us, the reaſon we ſuppoſe is, that little or no courtſhip was practiſed among them. Women had no diſpoſing power of themſelves, to what purpoſe was it then to apply to them for their conſent? They were under perpetual guardianſhip, and the guardian having the ſole power of diſpoſing of them, it was only neceſſary to apply to him. In the Roman authors, we frequently read of a father, a brother, or a guardian, giving his daughter, his ſiſter, or his ward, in marriage, but we do not recollect one ſingle inſtance of being told that the intended bridegroom applied to the lady for her conſent; a circumſtance the more extraordinary, as women in the decline of the Roman empire had ariſen to a dignity, and even to a freedom, hardly equalled in modern Europe.

Though wives were not purchaſed among the Celtes, Gauls, Germans, and neighbouring nations of the North as they

CHAP. XXIII.

Courtſhip of the ancient inhabitants of the North.

are in the Eaſt, they were nevertheleſs a kind of ſlaves to their huſbands; but this ſlavery was become ſo familiar by cuſtom, that the women neither loſt their dignity by ſubmitting, nor the men their regard by ſubjecting them to it; and as they often received portions with their wives, and had ſo much veneration for the ſex in general, we will be the leſs ſurpriſed to find, that in courtſhip they behaved with a ſpirit of gallantry, and ſhewed a degree of ſentiment to which the Greeks and Romans, who called them Barbarians, never arrived. Not contented with getting poſſeſſion of the perſon of his miſtreſs, a northern lover could not be ſatisfied without the ſincere affection of her heart, nor was his miſtreſs ever to be gained but by ſuch methods as plainly indicated to her, the tendereſt attachment from the moſt deſerving man.

THE ancient Scandinavian women were chaſte, proud, and emulous of glory, being conſtantly taught to deſpiſe thoſe men who ſpent their youth in peaceful obſcurity, they were not to be courted but by the moſt aſſiduous attendance, ſeconded by ſuch warlike atchievements as the cuſtom of the country had

had rendered neceſſary to make a man deſerving of his miſtreſs. On theſe accounts, we frequently find, a lover accoſting the object of his paſſion by a minute and circumſtantial detail of all his exploits, and all his accompliſhments. King Regner Lodbrog, in a beautiful ode compoſed by himſelf, in memory of the deeds of his former days, gives a ſtrong proof of this.

"We fought with ſwords," ſaid he, "that "day wherein I ſaw ten thouſand of my foes "rolling in the duſt near a promontory of "England. A dew of blood diſtilled from "our ſwords, the arrows which flew in ſearch "of the helmets, bellowed through the air. "The pleaſure of that day, was equal to "that of claſping a fair virgin in my arms.

"We fought with ſwords: a young man "ſhould march early to the conflict of arms, "man ſhould attack man, or bravely reſiſt "him; in this hath always conſiſted the no-"bility of the warrior. He who aſpires to "the love of his miſtreſs, ought to be daunt-"leſs in the claſh of ſwords.

CHAP. XXIII.

"We fought with ſwords in fifty and one "battles under my floating banners. From "my early youth I have learned to dye the "ſteel of my lance with blood, but it is "time to ceaſe. Odin hath ſent his god- "deſſes to conduct me to his palace, I am "going to be placed on the higheſt ſeat, "there to quaff goblets of beer with the "gods; the hours of my life are rolled "away."

Such, and many of the ſame kind, are the exploits ſung by king Regner. In another ode of a later date, compoſed by Harold the valiant, we find an enumeration of his exploits and accompliſhments joined together, in order to give his miſtreſs a favourable idea of him, but from the chorus of his ſong we learn that he did not ſucceed.

"My ſhips have made the tour of Sicily; "there were we all magnificent and ſplen- "did; my brown veſſel, full of mariners, "rapidly rowed to the utmoſt of my wiſhes; "wholly taken up with war, I thought my "courſe would never ſlacken, and yet a "Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me.

"In

"In my youth I fought with the people
"of Drontheim, their troops exceeded ours
"in number. It was a terrible conflict, I left
"their young king dead on the field, and
"yet a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me.

"One day, we were but ſixteen in a veſ-
"ſel, a ſtorm aroſe and ſwelled the ſea, it
"filled the loaded ſhip, but we diligently
"cleared it out; thence I formed hopes of
"the happeſt ſucceſs, and yet a Ruſſian
"maiden ſcorns me.

"I know how to perform eight exerci-
"ſes, I fight valiantly, I ſit firmly on horſe-
"back, I am inured to ſwimming, I know
"how to run along the ſcates, I dart the
"lance, and am ſkilful at the oar, and yet
"a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me.

"Can ſhe deny, that young and lovely
"maiden, that on the day, when poſted
"near a city in the ſouthern land, I joined
"battle, that then I valiantly handled my
"arms, and left behind me laſting monu-
"ments of my exploits, and yet a Ruſſian
"maiden ſcorns me.

"I was

CHAP. XXIII.

"I WAS born in the high country of "Norway, where the inhabitants handle "their bows ſo well; but I preferred guid- "ing my ſhips, the dread of peaſants, among "the rocks of the ocean, and far from the "habitation of men. I have run through "all the ſeas with my veſſels, and yet a "Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me."

They alſo uſed charms and incantations

BESIDES theſe methods of courting, or aſpiring to the good graces of the fair, by arms and by arts, the ancient Northerns had ſeveral others, and among theſe it would ſeem that charms or incantations were reckoned not the leaſt powerful. Odin, who firſt taught them their mythology, and whom they afterwards worſhipped as their ſupreme deity, ſays, in one of his diſcourſes:

"IF I aſpire to the love and the favour "of the chaſteſt virgin, I can bend the "mind of the ſnowy armed maiden, and "make her yield wholly to my deſires.

"I KNOW a ſecret which I will never "loſe, it is to render myſelf always beloved "of my miſtreſs.

"BUT

"BUT I know one which I will never "impart to any female, except my own "ſiſter, or to her whom I hold in my arms. "Whatever is known only to one's ſelf is "always of great value."

Directions how to court with ſucceſs.

IN the *Hava-Maal*, or ſublime diſcourſes of Odin, we have ſome ſketches of directions how to proceed in courtſhip, ſo as to be ſucceſsful without the aſſiſtance of any charm or ſecret.---"He who would make him "ſelf beloved of a maiden, muſt entertain "her with fine diſcourſes, and offer her en- "gaging preſents; he muſt alſo inceſſantly "praiſe her beauty.---It requires good ſenſe "to be a ſkilful lover.---If you would bend "your miſtreſs to your paſſion, you muſt "only go by night to ſee her; when a thing "is known to a third perſon it never ſuc- "ceeds."

THE young women of the nations we are conſidering, not relying upon what fame had reported concerning the acquiſitions of their lovers, frequently deſired to be themſelves the witneſſes of theſe acquiſitions, and the young men were not leſs eager in ſeizing every opportunity to gratify their deſires.

CHAP. XXIII.

deſires. This is abundantly proved by an anecdote in the hiſtory of Charles and Grymer, two kings of Sweden. "Grymer, a "youth early diſtinguiſhed in arms, who "well knew how to dye his ſword in the "blood of his enemies, to run over the "craggy mountains, to wreſtle, to play at "cheſs, trace the motions of the ſtars, and "throw far from him heavy weights, fre- "quently ſhewed his ſkill in the chamber of "the damſels, *before the king's lovely daugh-* "*ter;* deſirous of acquiring her regard, he "diſplayed his dexterity in handling his "weapons, and the knowledge he had at- "tained in the ſciences he had learned; at "length he ventured to make this demand: "Wilt thou, O fair princeſs, if I may obtain "the king's conſent, accept of me for a "huſband? To which ſhe prudently re- "plied, I muſt not make that choice myſelf, "but go thou and offer the ſame propoſal "to my father. The ſequel of this ſtory informs us, that Grymer accordingly made his propoſal to the king, who anſwered him in a rage, that though he had learned indeed to handle his arms, yet as he had never gained a ſignal victory, nor given a banquet to the beaſts of the field, he had no

no pretenſions to his daughter, and concluded by pointing out to him, in a neighbouring kingdom, a hero renowned in arms, whom, if he could conquer, the princeſs ſhould be given him: that on waiting on the princeſs to tell her what had paſſed, ſhe was greatly agitated, and felt in the moſt ſenſible manner for the ſafety of her lover, whom ſhe was afraid her father had devoted to death for his preſumption; that ſhe provided him with a ſuit of impenetrable armour and a truſty ſword, with which he went, and having ſlain his adverſary, and moſt part of his warriors, returned victorious, and received her as the reward of his valour. Singular as this method of obtaining a fair lady by a price paid in blood may appear, it was not peculiar to the northerns. We have already taken notice of the price which David paid for the daughter of Saul, and ſhall add, that among the Saccæ, a people of ancient Scythia, a cuſtom ſomething of this kind, but ſtill more extraordinary, obtained. Every young man who made his addreſſes to a lady was obliged to engage her in ſingle combat; if he vanquiſhed, he led her off in triumph, and became her huſband and ſovereign; if he was conquered, ſhe led him off in the

Singular method of courtſhip.

CHAP. XXIII.

ſame manner, and made him her huſband and her ſlave. In the iſland of Bornea, the moſt ſucceſsful method of courting is, for the lover to preſent his miſtreſs with the heads of ſome enemies, and the greater the number of heads, the more likely he is to ſucceed in his ſuit.

FROM the preceding obſervations, it appears, that the ancient northerns placed their principal felicity in the enjoyments of courtſhip and love, as they compared even the pleaſures of vanquiſhing their enemies to this laſt, as to the higheſt ſtandard of pleaſure. It likewiſe appears, that, inſtigated by ſentiment, and actuated by freedom, every lover made application firſt to the object of his wiſhes, to know whether he would be agreeable to her, before he would proceed to ſolicit the conſent of parents or relations.

Manner of refuſing their lovers.

As nothing could be more humble and complaiſant than the men when they preſented their addreſſes to the fair, ſo nothing could be more haughty or determined than the anſwers and behaviour of ſuch ladies as did not approve of their ſuitors. Gida, the daughter of a rich Norwegian lord, when courted

courted by Harald Harfagre, ſternly anſwered, that if he aſpired to merit her love, he muſt ſignalize himſelf by exploits of a more extraordinary nature than any he had yet performed. Nor was ſuch a reception peculiar to her, it was the cuſtom of the times, and the complexion of theſe times greatly contributed to render ſuch a cuſtom neceſſary; for beſides the perſonal ſafety of a wife, depending ſo much on the proweſs of the man ſhe married, valour was the only road to riches, to honours, and even to ſubſiſtence, which frequently depended in a great meaſure upon the ſpoils taken in the excurſions of war. But the haughty behaviour of the ladies was not entirely confined to words. It is ſuppoſed, though we do not venture to affirm it, that when a ſuitor had gone through the exerciſe of his arms before them, and when diſpleaſed with his performance, they wanted to put a negative upon his wiſhes, inſtead of a verbal reply, they ſometimes aroſe haſtily, ſnatched the arms from his hands, and ſhewed him that they could handle them with much more dexterity than himſelf; a reproof which not only mortified all his vanity, but impoſed eternal ſilence on his pretenſions to love.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE deſcendants of the people we have been now deſcribing, long after they had plundered and repeopled the greateſt part of Europe, retained nearly the ſame ideas of love, and practiſed the ſame methods in declaring it, that they had imbibed from their anceſtors. "Love," ſays William of Montagnogout, "engages to the moſt amiable conduct: Love inſpires the greateſt actions: Love has no will but that of the object beloved, nor ſeeks any thing but what will augment her glory. You cannot love, nor ought to be beloved, if you aſk any thing that virtue condemns; never did I form a wiſh that could wound the heart of my beloved, nor delight in a pleaſure that was inconſiſtent with her delicacy." Such were the tender, ſuch the honourable ſentiments that ſprung from chivalry, an inſtitution which obliged the lover to devote himſelf to the will of his miſtreſs. "It is the duty of a lover," ſays one of the troubadours, "to aſk humbly what he wiſhes, and the right of the miſtreſs to command what he deſires; which the lover by the laws of gallantry is obliged to execute like the orders of a ſovereign." Theſe orders we have already ſeen were generally to perform

form ſome feats of military valour, a cuſtom which continued to the time that military expeditions gave way to tilts and tournaments, where the miſtreſs ſtill commanded the lover to appear, and where he ſhewed himſelf not leſs anxious of victory and renown, than in the real field of blood.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

The ſame Subject continued.

CHAP. XXIV.

FROM this account of the courtſhip of the ancient northerns, it plainly appears that they were, in ſome reſpects, far advanced beyond the ſavage barbarity of many nations now exiſting; among whom marriages are commonly contracted with little previous attachment, and as little regard to the mutual inclination of the parties for each other. Savages, in general, not being determined to marry from any attachment to a particular woman; but becauſe they find that ſtate neceſſary to their comfortable ſubſiſtence, and conformable to the faſhion of their country, are not ſolicitous who ſhall be their wives; and, therefore, commonly leave the choice of them to their parents and relations; a method which excludes from their ſyſtem, all the joys, and all the pains of courtſhip. But as there are ſome ſavages who deviate from this cuſtom, we ſhall give a ſhort account of the manner in which they addreſs the females, whom they have ſelected as the objects of their love.

THE

CHAP. XXIV.

Methods of courtſhip among ſome tribes of ſavages.

THE method of aſking in courtſhip, as well as that of refuſing, among ſome of the tribes of American Indians, is the moſt ſimple that can poſſibly be deviſed. When the lover goes to viſit his miſtreſs, he only begs leave, by ſigns, to enter her hut; having obtained it, he goes in, and ſits down by her in the moſt reſpectful ſilence; if ſhe ſuffers him to remain there without interruption, her doing ſo is conſenting to his ſuit; and they go to bed together without further ceremony: but if the lover has any thing given him to eat and drink, it is a refuſal; though the woman is obliged to ſit by him till he has finiſhed his repaſt; after which he retires in ſilence. In Canada, courtſhip is not carried on with that coy reſerve, and ſeeming ſecrecy, which politeneſs has introduced among the inhabitants of civilized nations. When a man and woman meet, though they never ſaw each other before, if he is captivated with her charms, he declares his paſſion in the plaineſt manner; and ſhe, with the ſame honeſt ſimplicity, anſwers, Yes, or No, without further deliberation. That female reſerve, that ſeeming reluctance to enter into the married ſtate, obſervable in polite countries, is the work of art, and not of

CHAP. XXVI.

of nature; the hiſtory of every uncultivated people amply proves this: it tells us, that their women not only ſpeak with freedom the ſentiments of their hearts, but even bluſh not to have theſe ſentiments made as public as poſſible. The contract between Mahomet and his wife begins thus, "Where-"as, Cadhiga is in love with Mahomet, and "Mahomet with Cadhiga." It was formerly a cuſtom, among the Brazilians, that as ſoon as a man had ſlain an enemy, he had a right to court a bride; but that cuſtom is now aboliſhed, and the ſuitor is obliged to aſk the conſent of the girl's parents; which he no ſooner obtains, than he haſtens to the bride, and forces her to his embrace. In Formoſa, they differ ſo much from the ſimplicity of the Canadians, that it would be reckoned the greateſt indecency in the man to declare, or in the woman to hear, a declaration of the paſſion of love. The lover is, therefore, obliged to depute his mother, ſiſter, or ſome female relation; and from any of theſe the ſoft tale may be heard, without the leaſt offence to delicacy.

SUCH are the cuſtoms which, among ſome ſavage nations, regulate the affairs of courtſhip;

courtſhip; cuſtoms which ſhew, that, even in the moſt rude and uncultivated ſtate, men are hardly more uniform in their ideas and actions, than when poliſhed by civilization and ſociety. The lower claſs of the people who inhabit Maſſachuſets Bay, have a remarkable method of courtſhip, which they perhaps borrowed the idea of from the native Americans. When a man falls in love with a woman, he firſt propoſes his conditions to her parents, without whoſe conſent no marriage in the colony can take place; if they approve of him, he repairs to their houſe in the evening, in order to make his court to the young woman. At their uſual hour, the old people, and the reſt of the family, go to bed, leaving the lovers together. Some time after, the lovers go to bed together alſo; but without ſtripping themſelves naked, to avoid ſcandal. If they are pleaſed with each other, the bans are publiſhed, and they are married without delay. If not, they part, and never ſee one another any more; unleſs the woman ſhould be with child; when the man is obliged to marry her, under pain of excommunication. This has a great reſemblance to a cuſtom uſed in ſome places by the ſavages, where a

CHAP. XXIV.

lover goes in the night to the hut of his miſtreſs, ſteals ſilently in, lights a match at the fire, and cautiouſly approaches her bed, holding the match before him. If ſhe ſuffer it to remain burning, it is a denial, and he muſt retire. If ſhe blows it out, it is a ſign of her approbation; and ſhews that ſhe wiſhes the affair to be tranſacted in darkneſs and ſecrecy: he takes the hint, and immediately lays himſelf down by her ſide.

Women of Penſylvania carry away their lovers to a magiſtrate to be married.

BEFORE we take leave of the European colonies in America, another ſingulrarity in the behaviour of Penſylvania lovers deſerves to be mentioned, as it ſhews that their women have not even that degree of delicacy, which we have juſt now ſeen them poſſeſſed of in ſavage life. When two Penſylvanian lovers meet with any remarkable oppoſition from their friends, they go off together on horſeback; the woman riding before, and the man behind. In this ſituation they preſent themſelves before a magiſtrate, to whom ſhe declares, that ſhe has run away with her lover, and has brought him there to be married. So ſolemn an avowal, the magiſtrate is not at liberty to reject, and he marries them accordingly.

CHAP. XXIV.

It has long been a common obſervation among mankind, that love is the moſt fruitful ſource of invention; and that the imagination of a woman in love, is ſtill more fruitful of invention and expedient than that of a man. Agreeably to this, we are told, that the women of the iſland of Amboyna, being cloſely watched on all occaſions, and deſtitute of the art of writing; by which, in other places, the ſentiments are conveyed at any diſtance, have methods of making known their inclinations to their lovers, and of fixing aſſignations with them, by means of noſegays, and plates of fruit ſo diſpoſed, as to convey their ſentiments in the moſt explicit manner: by theſe means their courtſhip is generally carried on, and by altering the diſpoſition of the ſymbols made uſe of, they contrive to ſignify their refuſal, with the ſame explicitneſs as their approbation; but this is not a practice peculiar to Amboyna, it is alſo uſed by the young women of Tripoli and Algiers. In the gardens, at theſe places, are conſtantly employed a number of chriſtian ſlaves; when the ladies who have a liberty of walking in theſe gardens, take a fancy for any of them, they explain themſelves by arranging the flower-pots in

CHAP. XXIV.

a certain order; by wearing noſegays particularly conſtructed; the ſlaves return their anſwer in the ſame manner; and thus a correſpondence is carried on ſcarcely leſs explicit than if it were done by writing. Nor is their art confined to this ſingle method, they have certain flowers that denote hope, deſpair, opportunity, &c.; and by means of theſe they make their inclinations known to each other; but they carry it ſtill farther; and by placing flowers in ſuch a manner, as the initial letters of their names ſhall form ſuch words and ſentences as they want to make uſe of, they can give and return to each other the completeſt information.

We ſhall ſee afterward, when we come to treat of the matrimonial compact, that in ſome places, the ceremony of marriage conſiſts in tying the garments of the young couple together, as an emblem of that union which ought to bind their affections and intereſts. This ceremony has afforded a hint for lovers to explain their paſſion to their miſtreſſes, in the moſt intelligible manner, without the help of ſpeech, or the poſſibility of offending the niceſt delicacy. A lover in thoſe countries, who is too modeſt

to

to declare himſelf, ſeizes the firſt opportunity he can find, of ſitting down by his miſtreſs, and tying his garment to her's, in the manner that is practiſed in the ceremony of marriage. If ſhe permits him to finiſh the knot, without interruption, and does not ſoon after cut or looſe it, ſhe thereby gives her conſent. If ſhe looſes it, he may tye it again on ſome other occaſion, when ſhe may prove more propitious, but if ſhe cut it, his hopes are blaſted for ever.

Both theſe laſt-mentioned cuſtoms are peculiar to the Eaſt; and they are almoſt the only ones we can find in theſe extenſive regions, concerning courtſhip, that are worth relating; for where the two ſexes are denied all communication with each other, it is impoſſible there ſhould be any courtſhip; and where the venal bride is bought from her ſtill more venal parents, to be the ſlave, and not the companion, of her huſband; neither are poſſeſſed of the feelings neceſſary for that delicately ſentimental prelude of the ſocial ſtate of wedlock.

Lapland courtſhip, how managed.

The delicacy of a Lapland lady, which is not in the leaſt hurt by being drunk as often

CHAP. XXIV.

often as ſhe can procure liquor, would be wounded in the moſt ſenſible manner, ſhould ſhe deign at firſt to liſten to the declaration of a lover. He is therefore obliged to employ a match-maker to ſpeak for him. This match-maker muſt never go empty-handed; and of all other preſents, that which moſt infalliably ſecures him a favourable reception, is brandy. Having, by the eloquence of this favourable liquor, gained leave to bring the lover along with him, who, together with his father or other neareſt male relation, being arrived at the houſe where the lady reſides, the father and match-maker are invited to go in, but the lover muſt wait patiently at the door till further ſolicited. The parties, in the mean time, open their ſuit to the other ladies of the family, not forgetting to employ their irreſiſtable advocate brandy, a liberal diſtribution of which is reckoned the ſtrongeſt proof of the lover's affection. When they are all tolerably warmed, and caution begins to give place to intoxication, the lover is brought into the houſe, pays his compliments to the family, and is deſired to partake of their cheer, though at this interview ſeldom indulged with a ſight of his miſtreſs; but if

he

he is, he ſalutes her, and offers her preſents of rein-deer ſkins, tongues, &c.; all which while ſurrounded with her friends, ſhe pretends to refuſe; but, at the ſame time giving her ſwain a ſignal to go out, ſhe ſoon ſteals after him, and is no more that baſhful creature ſhe affected to appear in company. He now ſolicits for the completion of his wiſhes. If ſhe is ſilent, it is conſtrued into conſent. But if ſhe throws his preſents on the ground with diſdain, the match is broke off for ever.

Averſion of the Greenland women to marriage.

It is generally obſerved, that women enter into matrimony with more willingneſs, and leſs anxious ſolicitude, than men, for which many reaſons naturally ſuggeſt themſelves to the intelligent reader. The women of Greenland are, however, in many caſes, an exception to this general rule. A Greenlander, having fixed his affection, acquaints his parents with it; they acquaint the parents of the girl; upon which two female negociators are ſent to her, who, leſt they ſhould ſhock her delicacy, do not enter directly on the ſubject of their embaſſy, but launch out in praiſes of the lover they mean to recommend, of his hut, of his furniture, and whatever elſe belongs

CHAP. XXIV.

belongs to him, dwelling moſt particularly on his *dexterity* in catching of ſeals. She, really affronted, or pretending to be ſo, runs away, tearing the ringlets of her hair as ſhe retires; after which the two females, having obtained a tacit conſent from her parents, ſearch for her, and, on diſcovering her lurking-place, drag her by force to the hut of her lover, and there leave her. For ſome days ſhe ſits with diſhevelled hair, ſilent and dejected, refuſing every kind of ſuſtenance, and at laſt, if kind intreaties cannot prevail upon her, is compelled by force, and even by blows, to complete the marriage. It ſometimes happens, that when the female match-makers arrive to propoſe a lover to a Greenland young woman, ſhe either faints, or eſcapes to the uninhabited mountains, where ſhe remains till ſhe is diſcovered and carried back by her relations, or is forced to return by hunger and cold. In both which caſes, ſhe previouſly cuts off her hair. A moſt unalterable declaration that ſhe is determined never to marry.

THIS peculiar diſpoſition of the Greenland women is not nature. Her dictates are every where nearly the ſame. It is the

the horror which ariſes at the ſlaviſh and dependent ſtate of the wives of that country, and the ſtill more abject and deſerted ſtate of its widows. For the wives, beſides being obliged to do every ſervile office, are frequently ſubjected to the mercileſs correction of their huſbands. The widows, when they have no longer a huſband to hunt and fiſh for them, are deſtitute of every reſource and frequently periſh of hunger. Hence matrimony, which in moſt places makes the condition of women more independent and comfortable, among them renders it truly wretched; and hence they enter into it with ſo much reluctance and regret.

Courtſhip in Spain.

In Spain, the women had formerly no voice in diſpoſing of themſelves in matrimony. But as the empire of common ſenſe began to extend itſelf, they began to claim a privilege, at leaſt of being conſulted in the choice of the partners of their lives. Many fathers and guardians, hurt by this female innovation, and puffed up with Spaniſh pride, ſtill inſiſted on forcing their daughters to marry according to their pleaſure, by means of duennas, locks, hunger, and even ſometimes, of poiſon and daggers.

CHAP. XXIV.

But as nature will revolt againſt every ſpecies of oppreſſion and injuſtice, the ladies have for ſometime begun to aſſert their own rights. The authority of fathers and guardians begins to decline, and lovers find themſelves obliged to apply to the affections of the fair, as well as to the pride and avarice of their relations. As women of faſhion are, however, ſeldom allowed to go abroad, and never to receive male viſitors at home, unleſs with the conſent of parents, or by the contrivance of a duenna, this application is commonly made in a manner almoſt peculiar to the Spaniards themſelves. The gallant compoſes ſome love ſonnets, as expreſſive as he can, not only of the ſituation of his heart, but of every particular circumſtance between him and the lady, not forgetting to lard them every here and there with the moſt extravagant encomiums on her beauty and merit. Theſe he ſings in the night below her window, accompanied with his lute, or ſometimes with a whole band of muſic. The more piercingly cold the air, the more the lady's heart is ſuppoſed to be thawed with the patient ſufferance of her lover, who, from night to night, frequently continues this exerciſe for many hours,

heaving

heaving the deepeſt ſighs, and caſting the moſt piteous looks toward the window; at which, if his goddeſs at laſt deigns to appear, and drop him a curtſey, he is ſuperlatively paid for all his watching; but if ſhe bleſſes him with a ſmile, he is ready to run diſtracted.

In moſt of the countries we have hitherto mentioned, love is carried on without ſentiment or feeling; in Spain it is quite the reverſe. A Spaniſh lover hardly thinks, ſpeaks, or even dreams, of any thing but his miſtreſs. When he ſpeaks to her, it is with the utmoſt reſpect and deference. When he ſpeaks of her, it is in the moſt hyberbolically romantic ſtyle; and when he approaches her, you would ſuppoſe him to be approaching a divinity. But all this deference to her *godſhip*, all this patient ſufferance under her window, is not enough; and as none but the brave can deſerve the fair, he is conſtantly ready, not only to fight all her enemies, and his own rivals, but to ſeek every opportunity of ſignalizing his courage, that he may ſhew himſelf able to protect her. Among all theſe opportunities, none are ſo eagerly courted as fighting with bulls; a

CHAP. XXIV.

barbarous amuſement, for which Spain is remarkable; where the ladies ſit as ſpectators, while the cavaliers encounter thoſe furious animals, previouſly exaſperated, and where, according to the ſarcaſtic phraſe of Butler,

"—— he obtains the nobleſt ſpouſe,
"Who widows greateſt herds of cows."

Some of the human paſſions are ſo nearly allied to each other, that the tranſition from this to that is hardly perceptible, and ſeems as eaſy and natural as it is to ſtep from the threſhold into the houſe. Of this kind is friendſhip with woman, which has been called ſiſter to love; and we may add, that pity for a woman, who is tolerably handſome and deſerving, is more than ſiſter to love. The Spaniards, conſidering the effects of pity on the tender and compaſſionate natures of women, endeavour, inſtead of attaching them by pleaſure, as in other countries, to ſecure them by exciting their compaſſion, through every part of the courtſhip we have now related. But they do it ſtill more remarkably in a cuſtom, which they practiſed ſome time ago at Madrid,

CHAP. XXVI.

Madrid, and in other parts of Spain. A company of people, who called themſelves diſciplinants, or whippers, partly inſtigated by ſuperſtition, and partly by love, paraded the ſtreets every Good-Friday, attended by all the religious orders, ſeveral of the courts of judicature, all the companies of trades, and ſometimes the king and all his court. The whippers were arrayed in long caps in the form of a ſugar-loaf, white gloves, ſhoes of the ſame colour, and waiſtcoats, the ſleeves of which were tied with ribbons of ſuch colours as they thought moſt agreeable to the fancy of the ladies they adored. In their hands were whips made of ſmall cords, to the ends of which were cemented little bits of wax ſtuck with pieces of broken glaſs; with theſe they whipped themſelves as they went along, and he who ſhewed the leaſt mercy to his carcaſe, was ſure of the greateſt pity from his dulcinea. When they happened to meet a handſome woman in the ſtreet, ſome one of them took care to whip himſelf, ſo as to make his blood ſpurt upon her; an honour for which ſhe never failed humbly to thank him. When any of them came oppoſite to the window of his miſtreſs, he began to lay upon

CHAP. XXIV.

upon himſelf with redoubled fury, while ſhe, from her balcony, looked complacently on the horrid ſcene, and knowing it was acted in honour of her charms, thought herſelf greatly obliged to her lover, and ſeldom failed to reward him accordingly.

Singular methods of courtſhip at Conſtantinople.

NOT leſs ſingular, and much of the ſame nature, is a method of courtſhip which Lady Montague ſaw at a proceſſion in Conſtantinople, when the grand Seignior was going out to take the command of an army. "The rear," ſays ſhe, "was cloſed by the "volunteers, who came to beg the honour "of dying in his ſervice; they were all "naked to the middle, ſome had their "arms pierced through with arrows left "ſticking in them, others had them ſticking "in their heads, the blood trickled down "their faces; ſome ſlaſhed their arms with "ſharp knives, making the blood ſpring out "on the byſtanders; and this is looked on as "an expreſſion of their zeal for glory. And "I am told, that ſome make uſe of it to ad-"vance their love; and when they come "near the window where their miſtreſs "ſtands, all the women being veiled to ſee "this ſpectacle, they ſtick another arrow "for

" for her ſake, who gives ſome ſign of ap- CHAP. XXIV.
" probation and encouragement to this kind
" of gallantry."

WE cannot help condemning cuſtoms ſo barbarous; but while we condemn them, we have the ſtrongeſt hopes that they no longer exiſt; while in Scotland, one of a ſomewhat ſimiliar nature, ſcarcely leſs ridiculous, or leſs dangerous, is not yet obliterated. At a concert annually held in Edinburgh, on St. Cecilia's day, moſt of the celebrated beauties are aſſembled. When the concert is ended, their adorers retire to a tavern, when he that can drink the largeſt quantity to the health of his miſtreſs, according to the phraſe they make uſe of, *ſaves her*, and dubs her a public toaſt for the enſuing year; while the hapleſs fair, who is beloved by one of a more irritable ſyſtem and leſs capacious ſtomach, according to the ſame cant, is *damned*, and degraded by the bucks from being ranked among the number of beauties. In tracing general principles, one often meets with many diſcordant and contradictory facts. It is a general rule of nature, that when the male makes love to the female, he endeavours to put himſelf into the

Singular method in Scotland.

CHAP. XXIV.

the moſt agreeable poſtures and attitudes, and to gain her affection by ſhewing, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, his beſt ſide, and moſt agreeable accompliſhments. But the inſtances we have now related are exceptions to this general law; they tend, however, to eſtabliſh a truth, which every attentive perſon muſt have obſerved, that the actions of men are more the reſult of accident and cuſtom, than of fixed and permanent principles.

Strictures on the foregoing methods.

AMONG the various methods uſed by our anceſtors, of introducing themſelves into the good graces of the fair, fighting was far from being the leaſt common; and ſeveral tolerably good reaſons may be aſſigned why this ſhould ſo ſucceſsfully accompliſh its purpoſe. But though fighting a rival or an enemy, may promote the ſuit of a lover, nothing ſeems leſs natural than endeavouring to engage the female heart by unavailing cruelty to one's own fleſh. This has in itſelf no merit, nor diſtinguiſhes the man for any thing but a wrong head, and an inſenſibility of nerves. Whoever, therefore, gets drunk, or commits an outrage upon himſelf for the ſake of his miſtreſs, ſhould be truſted by the

the women with caution, as the ſame cauſes which prompted him to this folly, may prompt him to others in which his own perſon is leſs likely to ſuffer.

Time of courtſhip the moſt pleaſant part of life.

BEFORE we take our leave of the Spaniards, we muſt do them the juſtice to ſay, that though their ideas of the ladies, and their manner of addreſſing them, are ſtrongly tinctured with the wild and the romantic, they are at the ſame time directed by an honour and fidelity, ſcarcely to be found among any other people. In Italy, the manner of courtſhip, ſo far as it relates to ſerenading, nearly reſembles that of Spain; but the Italian goes a ſtep farther than the Spaniard; he endeavours to blockade the houſe where his fair one lives, ſo as to prevent the entrance of any rival; if he marries the lady who coſt him all this trouble and attendance, he ſhuts her up for life; if not, ſhe becomes the object of his eternal hatred, and he too frequently endeavours to revenge by poiſon the ſucceſs of his happier rival. In one circumſtance relating to courtſhip, the Italians are ſaid to be particular; they protract the time of it as long as poſſible,

CHAP. XXIV.

well knowing, that even with all the little ills attending it, a period thus employed is one of the ſweeteſt of human life.

To the difference of the climate of one country from another, philoſophers have generally attributed the different diſpoſition of the inhabitants. But France and Spain are kingdoms bordering on each other, and yet nothing can be more diſſimilar than a Frenchman and a Spaniard in affairs of love. A French lover, with the word ſentiment perpetually in his mouth, ſeems by every action, to have excluded it from his heart. He places his whole confidence in his exterior air and appearance. He dreſſes for his miſtreſs, dances for her, flutters conſtantly about her, helps her to lay on her rouge, and place her patches; attends her round the whole circle of amuſements chatters to her perpetually, whiſtles and ſings, and plays the fool with her; whatever be his ſtation, every thing gaudy and glittering within the ſphere of it, is called in to his aſſiſtance, particularly ſplendid carriages and tawdry liveries; but if, by the help of all theſe, he cannot make an impreſſion on the

fair

fair one's heart, it coſts him nothing at laſt but a few ſhrugs of his ſhoulders, two or three ſilly exclamations, and as many ſtanzas of ſome ſatirical ſong againſt her; and as it is impoſſible for a Frenchman to live without an amour, he immediately betakes himſelf to another.

Among people of faſhion in France, courtſhip begins to be totally annihilated, and matches made by parents and guardians are become ſo common, that a bride and bridegroom not unfrequently meet together for the ſecond time on the day of their marriage. In a country where complaiſance and form ſeem ſo indiſpenſible, it may appear extraordinary, that a few weeks at leaſt ſhould not be allowed a young couple to gain the affections of each other, and to enable them to judge whether their tempers were formed for their mutual happineſs. But this delay is commonly thought unneceſſary by the prudent parents, whoſe views extend no farther than intereſt and convenience. In many countries, to be married in this manner would be reckoned the greateſt of misfortunes. In France, it is little regarded, as in the faſhionable

CHAP. XXIV.

world few people are greater ſtrangers to, or more indifferent about, each other, than huſband and wife: and any appearance of fondneſs between them, or their being ſeen frequently together, would infallibly make them forfeit the reputation of the *ton*, and be laughed at by all polite company. On this account, nothing is more common than to be acquainted with a lady, without knowing her huſband, or viſiting the huſband, without ever ſeeing his wife.

An hiſtorian, who has read that the French have been, time immemorial, governed by their women, and a traveller, who has ſeen the attention that every one pays to them, will be apt to reckon all we have now ſaid as falſehood and miſrepreſentation. But to the firſt, we would recommend to conſider, that the women, which have commonly governed France, have been the miſtreſſes of their kings or other great men, who, trained up in every alluring mode of their profeſſion, have become artful beyond conception, in inſinuating themſelves by all the avenues that lead to the male heart. The ſecond, we would wiſh to conſider, that this conſtant attention is more the effect of faſhion

fashion and custom than of sentiment or regard: and that even the frequent duels which in France are fought on account of women, are not a proof of the superior love or esteem of the men for that sex, nor undertaken to defend their virtue or reputation; they are only a mode of compliance with what is falsely called politeness, and of supporting what is falsely esteemed honour.

FORMERLY, while the manners introduced by the spirit of chivalry were not quite evaporated among the French, before the too great progress of politeness had destroyed the virtues of honest simplicity, and the tongue had learned by rote, to contradict the sentiments of the heart; the behaviour of this people, though mixed with romantic extravagance, was replete with feeling and sentiment. During the regency of Anne of Austria, fighting and religion were the most successful ways by which a lover could recommend himself to his mistress; the bombastic verses of the Duke of Rochefoucault shew what a lover then promised with his sword *; and the number of women of rank

* To merit her heart, and to please her bright eyes,
I have fought against kings, and dare fight 'gainst the skies.

who

CHAP. XXIV.

who turned Carmelites, in compliance with the ſpirit of their gallants and of the times, point out what was effected by devotion; but as politeneſs began to puſh forward beyond the ſtandard of nature, it diſſipated not only all theſe romantic ideas, but alſo in time baniſhed ſentiment and affection, and left the French in their preſent ſituation---*creatures of art.* The eagerneſs, however, of the other European nations in copying their manners and cuſtoms is ſo great, that ſuch as they now are, all their neighbours will probably in leſs than a few centuries be.

Freedom of choice only left to the poor.

As mankind advance in the principles of ſociety, as intereſt, ambition, and ſome of the other ſordid paſſions begin to occupy the mind, nature is thruſt out. Nothing ſurely can be more natural than that love ſhould direct in the choice of a partner for life, and that the parties contracting in wedlock, ſhould enter into that compact with the mutual approbation of each other. This right of nature, however, begins to be wreſted from her in every polite country. The poor are the only claſs who ſtill retain the liberty of acting from inclination and from choice, while the rich, in proportion

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as they riſe in opulence and rank, ſink in the exertion of the natural rights of mankind, and ſacrifice their love at the ſhrine of intereſt or ambition. CHAP. XXIV.

SUCH now begins to be the common practice in Britain; courtſhip, at leaſt that kind of it which proceeds from mutual inclination and affection is, among the great, nearly annihilated, and the matrimonial bargain made between the relations and lawyers of the two families, with all the care and cunning that each party is maſter of, to advance its own intereſt by overreaching the other. Were we to deſcend to the middling and lower ranks of life, where freedom of mind ſtill exiſts; were we to deſcribe their various modes of addreſſing and endeavouring to render themſelves agreeable to the fair, we ſhould only relate what our readers are already well acquainted with; we ſhall therefore juſt obſerve, in general, that ſuch is the power of love, that it frequently prompts even an Engliſhman to lay aſide ſome part of his natural thoughtfulneſs, and appear more gay and ſprightly in the preſence of his miſtreſs; that on other occaſions, when he is doubtful of ſucceſs,

it

CHAP. XXIV.

it adds to his natural peeviſhneſs and taciturnity, an air of melancholy and embarraſſment, which expoſes him to the laughter of all his acquaintance, and ſeldom or never contributes any thing to advance his ſuit. When a few ſingularities ariſing from manners and cuſtoms are excepted, in every other reſpect the courtſhip of all poliſhed people is nearly the ſame, and conſiſts chiefly in the lover's endeavouring, by every art, to make his perſon and temper appear as agreeable to his miſtreſs as poſſible; to perſuade her, that his circumſtances are at leaſt ſuch as may enable him to indulge her in every thing becoming her ſtation, and that his inclinations to do ſo, are not in the leaſt to be doubted. Theſe great points being gained, the lover has commonly little elſe left to do, but to enter into the poſſeſſion of his hopes, unleſs where each party, urged by ſeparate intereſts, propoſes unreaſonable conditions of ſettlement, which frequently break off a match where every other article has been agreed on.

Courtſhip by fighting.

In ancient times, heroes encountered one another to render themſelves acceptable to the ladies they adored. Duels were fought between

between private perſons to determine which of them ſhould be the ſucceſsful lover: princes led their armies into the field, to fight with each other on the ſame account; and ſo rude were the manners, that a king when he fell in love, inſtead of endeavouring to gain the object by gentle and perſuaſive methods, frequently ſent to demand her, by threatening fire and ſword on a refuſal. The Spaniards, a few centuries ago, as well as the caveliers of many other nations, commenced knights-errant, and rode about the country fighting every thing that oppoſed them, for the honour of their miſtreſſes. We have already ſeen, that in ſome countries, the faireſt and moſt noble virgins were allotted as a reward to the greateſt virtue, that in others they were baſely ſacrificed to the wretch who was able to give the higheſt price for them. But among the ancient Saxons, at Magdeburgh, they had an inſtitution ſtill more ſingular, the greateſt beauties, with a ſum of money as the portion of each, were at ſtated times, depoſited in the hands of the magiſtrates, to be publicly fought for, and fell to the lot of thoſe who were moſt famous at tilting.

CHAP. XXIV.

Conjectures on the cauſe of this courtſhip.

THAT the ſoft and compaſſionate temper of woman, naturally averſe to ſcenes of horror and of blood, ſhould be moſt eaſily gained by him who has moſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſcenes of that nature, appears at firſt ſight an inexplicable paradox; but the difficulty vaniſhes when we conſider, that, in rude and barbarous times, the weakneſs of the ſex made their property, and their beauty made their perſons, a prey to every invader; and that it was only by ſheltering themſelves in the arms of the hero, that they could attain to any ſafety, or to any importance. Hence the hero naturally became the object of their ambition, and their gratitude for the protection of his power, obliterated the idea of his crimes, magnified all his virtues, and held him up as an object of love. But beſides, in the times of general rapine and deveſtation, it was only valour and ſtrength that could defend a man's property from being lawleſsly carried away, and his family conſequently ruined for want of ſubſiſtence; and it was only by valour and martial atchievements that ambition could be gratified, that grandeur and power could be attained. When we ſurvey all theſe reaſons, our ſurpriſe that ſo many warriors

warriors in former times fought themſelves into the arms of their miſtreſſes, will be much abated.

For ſeveral centuries previous to the reſtoration of learning, the higheſt ambition of a lady, was to obtain a valiant knight to declare himſelf her champion, and a celebrated troubadour to ſing the praiſes of her beauty. She who had arrived at this flattering diſtinction, was the envy of her own ſex, and the adoration of ours. Nor was ſhe obliged by the etiquette of the times to diſſemble the ſentiments ſhe entertained of her champion or her ſonnetteer, ſhe might, in conſiſtency with the ſtricteſt virtue and the niceſt delicacy, anſwer the proteſtations of the one, and the poems of the other, with a freedom which in our days would be reckoned the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of forwardneſs and indecency. Troubadours frequently ſung the praiſes of beauty and of merit, from motives of love and eſteem; and not leſs frequently to advance their own fortunes. They commonly travelled about among, and were entertained by, the rich, being for the moſt part needy adventurers, or prodigals who had ſpent their fortunes;

CHAP. XXIV.

they therefore generally ſung the praiſes of the princeſs at whoſe court, or baroneſs at whoſe caſtle, they were entertained; and in this caſe, regardleſs of beauty or merit, may literally be ſaid to have ſung for cake and pudding. When their figure was agreeable, when their wit was lively, by their conſtant attention to all the little offices of the moſt extravagant gallantry, they frequently cornuted the huſband who fed them to ſing the praiſes of his wife; and what is not a little extraordinary, ſo ſacred was their character, that juſtice was commonly too feeble to reach them; and even the combined powers of jealouſy and revenge, which prompt the ſoul to deeds of the moſt daring hardihood, were awed into ſubmiſſion by the veneration in which they were held by the folly of the times.

We have ſeen in the courſe of this work, that women have been by authority expoſed to ſale, we have ſeen that they have, by order of the magiſtrates, been publicly fought for, and that, in the extenſive regions of the Eaſt, which compoſe almoſt half the the globe, they are bought by a huſband as his ox or his aſs, and in many reſpects treated

treated by him worſe than theſe animals. Such a treatment of the objects which nature has taught us to love, and politeneſs to reſpect, excites our aſtoniſhment and indignation, and we exult in the happier ſtate of our own country, when we conſider it as not degraded by any ſuch inſtances of deſpotic power, exerciſed over a ſex which nature meant us to cheriſh and defend. But our exultation on this head is not perhaps ſo well founded, as we imagine; the matrimonial bargains every day concluded by all the cunning of relations, and chicanery of lawyers, are a proof that we not only ſell the fair ſex, but diſpoſe even of ourſelves for the ſake of their fortunes. Such a ſpirit of venality in either ſex, is a ſtrong ſymptom of the approaching ruin of the people among whom it is found. Let us remember that wherever the women are the ſlaves of a deſpot, and that wherever the men have become the ſlaves of women, luxury and effeminacy have at laſt brought them to ruin.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Matrimony.

CHAP. XXV.

SOME regulation of the commerce between the ſexes, or the joining of males and females together by mutual ties and obligations, in order to preſerve the peace of ſociety, and encourage population, ſeems either to have been an innate principle in the human mind, or to have ariſen early from neceſſity; as we find it, in one ſhape or another, exiſting over all the habitable world: but nature only fitted the ſexes for each other, while ſhe left it to the laws of each country to inſtitute the ceremonies of their junction.

The word marriage often falſely applied by travellers,

ANTIQUARIANS, who have ſolicitouſly endeavoured to trace the manners and cuſtoms of paſt ages, and voyagers and travellers, who have depicted thoſe of the preſent, have indiſcriminately given the name of marriage to every legal or cuſtomary junction of the ſexes, which they met with in the countries, whoſe records they have ſearched, or which they have viſited in perſon;

CHAP. XXV.

perſon; and European readers, being accuſtomed only to one kind of marriage, have generally annexed the ſame idea, which the word conveys in their own country, to the marriages of the people of all other nations. Marriage, however, is ſo far from being an inſtitution, fixed by permanent and unalterable laws, that it has been continually varying in every period, and in every country: and its preſent indiſſoluble nature among us, hardly bears the leaſt reſemblance to what it was among many of the ancients, or to what it is at preſent in ſeveral parts of the world.

Some regulation of the commerce between the ſexes neceſſary.

MANY of the moſt reſpectable authors of antiquity have related, that ſeveral nations, during their rude and barbarous ſtate, had not any idea of matrimony, nor any regulation of the commerce between the ſexes; if this is a fact, it is intimately connected with another; which is, that the dawnings of civilization no ſooner began to appear, than theſe very people diſcovered the neceſſity of ſuch a regulation, and carried it into execution, upon the beſt plans which their limited capacities were capable of inventing. And we heſitate not

to

CHAP. XXV.

to affirm, that, without it, there could be no ſafety for the individual. The natural progreſs of multiplication would be retarded, and anarchy and confuſion would univerſally prevail among mankind.

Marriages originally ſimple in their nature.

PRESERVATION of the individual, and propagation of the ſpecies, as they are two of the great ends of our exiſtence, are ſo intimately connected with our nature, that in a very early period, it muſt have been diſcovered, that preſervation would be exceedingly precarious and uncertain, unleſs individuals appropriated to themſelves the produce of their hunting, and certain parcels of ground, from whence the means of that preſervation might be derived. And if men found that they could not draw their ſubſiſtence ſo conveniently from the ground, while it was in common; the ſame experience muſt have diſcovered to them, that propagation could not be ſo properly carried on, unleſs individuals of the two ſexes were appropriated to each other by ſome tie or obligation, which ſhould hinder them from being conſidered as common to the whole ſpecies; but of what kind theſe ties and obligations were, or how entered into,

we

we can now only conjecture. From the complexion of the times, however, we may ſuppoſe, that they were ſimple, and not attended with any remarkable pomp or ceremony. This we the more readily believe, when we conſider, that in the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation, our original mother is introduced as the wife of Adam, without taking notice of any ceremony performed to make her ſuch: and that there was none, appears plain from the circumſtances of her caſe. Every marriage ceremony, is only a mutual agreement between the contracting parties, to be faithful to each other, which agreement is always made in the preſence of witneſſes. But while only one man, and one woman exiſted, they had no third perſon to be a witneſs, nor could they poſſibly prove unfaithful to each other; conſequently could have no uſe for any mutual engagement to fidelity; unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that when their own poſterity became of age, ſuch engagement ſhould become neceſſary on their account. But here, if we miſtake not, nature has interpoſed her authority, by raiſing a horror at all inceſtuous commerce.

CHAP. XXV.

In the primitive ages of the world, every thing was done in the moſt plain and ſimple manner; a man ſet up a ſtone, or erected a pillar, to mark the ſpot of ground he had appropriated to his own uſe; and he took unto himſelf a wife; that is, carried her home to his houſe, and perhaps made her promiſe to adhere to him only, and to aſſiſt him in bringing up the children they might have together. This ſeems to have been the only mode in which marriages were originally contracted; at leaſt it was the mode during the patriarchal ages. Lamech, one of the ſons of Adam, took unto himſelf two wives. Abraham took unto himſelf a wife. The other patriarchs and people followed the example; and, for many centuries, the Iſraelitiſh women, and perhaps thoſe of other nations, were appropriated to their huſbands in this ſimple manner.

But beſides theſe marriages, by ſimple appropriation, there appear to have been others of a nature ſtill more ſimple. Accidental circumſtances ſometimes brought a man and woman together; and when any children were the produce of this cohabitation, natural affection excited them to remain

remain together, and unite their endeavours for the preſervation and maintenance of their offspring. A ſtrong proof, that ſuch marriages exiſted in ancient times, is, that they were much in uſe among the Romans, and are to be found at this day among ſome uncultivated people. The moſt ancient kind of marriage among the Romans, was when a man and woman came together, without any previous bargain; and having lived together for ſome time, found themſelves inſenſibly become ſo neceſſary to each other, that they could not think of parting. Among the Kalmuc Tartars, a young couple agree between themſelves, retire for one year as huſband and wife; and if, in that time, the woman brings forth a child, they remain together; if not, they either make trial of another year, or agree to part. In the iſland of Otaheite, the inhabitants purſue incontinent gratifications, wherever inclination leads them; but when a woman becomes pregnant, the father of her child thereby becomes her huſband. Such are the ſimple modes of marrying, among people unacquainted with the falſehood and duplicity introduced by civilization and refinement of manners.

CHAP. XXV.

Marriage ceremonies became more complex as ſociety advanced,

As the number of the human race increaſed, and the number of incitements to conjugal infidelity increaſed alſo, the ſimple modes of appropriating a woman, by carrying her home, or by living with her for ſome time, were found inſufficient either to check her own inclination to infidelity, or ſecure her from the attacks of the licentious; hence methods of a more public and ſolemn nature were contrived, and the marriage ceremony probably converted into a covenant, with ſimilar ceremonies to the covenants that were made at the eſtabliſhing of peace, or ſecuring of property. Many and various were the contrivances made uſe of to eſtabliſh and perpetuate the memory of thoſe covenants: Abraham preſented Abimelech, king of the Philiſtines, with ſheep and oxen; which he deſired him, before witneſſes, to accept of as a token, that he ſhould have the property of a well which he had digged. The Phœnicians ſet up a ſtone, or a pillar, or raiſed a heap of ſtones, as a memorial of any public agreement; a practice which was followed by many other nations. The Scythians, in their alliances and ceremonies, poured wine into an earthen veſſel; and having mixed it with the blood of the contracting

tracting parties, theſe parties dipped a ſcymiter, ſome arrows, a bill, and a javelin into the veſſel; and after many imprecations on him who ſhould break the agreement, they themſelves firſt drank of the mixture, and the reſt of the company, as witneſſes, followed their example. When the ancient Arabians took an oath, they cut the hands of the contracting parties with a ſharp ſtone, then pulled a tuft from the garment of each, dipped them in the blood which flowed from the wounds, and ſprinkled the blood upon ſeven ſtones ſet up between them, invoking in the mean time Bacchus and Urania. The ancient Medes and Lycians, in making public agreements, wounded themſelves in the arm, and the parties mutually ſucked the blood of each other. The Naſamones, in pledging their faith to each other, mutually preſented a cup of liquor, and if they had none, they took up duſt and put it in their mouths. The Greeks and Romans, in their public contracts joined their hands together, and ſwore by their gods, by the tombs of their anceſtors, or by any other object capable of exciting the greateſt awe and reverence. Such were the ceremonies attending covenants and alliances in the primitive

CHAP. XXV.

tive ages; and as marriage was an alliance not only between the parties themſelves, but their families and relations, it is probable that ſome of theſe ceremonies were made uſe of to ratify and confirm it.

Wives purchaſed and why.

But though matrimonial agreements were not only made public, but ſolemnly confirmed by ſome of the above ceremonies; ſuch is the proclivity to vice, that even theſe were found inſufficient to ſecure female fidelity; and hence, perhaps, aroſe the cuſtom of purchaſing a wife from her relations for a ſtipulated price, and a few preſents made to the bride herſelf; a cuſtom alſo of great antiquity, for Jacob ſerved ſeven years for Rachel, and Sechem told the brethren of Dinah that he would give whatever they ſhould aſk for their ſiſter. This method of marrying, as it augmented the power of a huſband over his wife, gave him greater ſecurity for her good behaviour; for by the purchaſe ſhe became his ſlave, and on the leaſt ſuſpicion he could confine her; or he could turn her away at pleaſure, if ſhe did not anſwer the purpoſes for which he intended her.

CHAP. XXV.

Commerce between the ſexes early regulated

THOUGH we are not perfectly certain what were the ceremonies of marriage in the primitive ages, it appears plain that the commerce between the ſexes began early to be regulated, becauſe all the moſt ancient traditions agree in aſcribing that regulation to their firſt ſovereigns and lawgivers. Menes, who is ſaid to have been the firſt king of Egypt, is alſo ſaid to have been the firſt who introduced and fixed the laws of matrimony among the Egyptians. The Greeks give the honour of this inſtitution to Cecrops; the Chineſe to Fo Hi, their firſt ſovereign; the Peruvians to Manco-capac, and the Jews to God Almighty himſelf. Nor does it only ſeem that matrimony was early introduced, but that at its firſt introduction among moſt nations, no more than one woman was allowed to one man. Jupiter had only his Juno; Pluto his Proſerpine; and Oſiris his Iſis. The ſtolen amours of the gods and heroes of antiquity, and the conduct of their wives upon diſcovering them, ſeem all plainly to ſhew that their legal right of commerce with the ſex extended only to one woman. The caſe, however, ſeems to have been otherwiſe among the Jews, for as early as the days of

Adam,

CHAP. XXV.

Polygamy early introduced.

Adam, Lamech, one of his ſons, introduced the practice of marrying a plurality of wives; a practice which was imitated by the neighbouring nations, till in time it became almoſt univerſal.

Ancient ceremony of marriage conſiſted in feaſting.

FROM the earlieſt antiquity men were accuſtomed to feaſt and rejoice together on memorable events, and on the acquiſition of any thing they reckoned valuable: beſides the value ſtamped on a woman by love, ſhe was alſo a conſiderable acquiſition, as ſhe ſtood in the quality of a ſervant as well as of a wife; in which laſt quality ſhe gave her huſband likewiſe a proſpect of raiſing up children, to perpetuate his name, and aſſiſt him in old age, circumſtances of the utmoſt importance in the primitive ages. But beſides theſe, a wife was valuable on another account. While ſociety was in its infancy, almoſt every family was at war with its neighbours about the diſtribution and defence of property, and it was only by the alliance of ſeveral families, that they could ſometimes be enabled to ſupport themſelves againſt their more powerful rivals. Such alliances, and ſuch additional ſtrength to families, came generally by marrying,

marrying, on all theſe accounts, marriage was conſidered as an important tranſaction, and feaſts were early inſtituted at its celebration; which feaſts, we have reaſon to believe, were frequently the whole of the ceremony; ſerved to make the contract public, and alſo in place of thoſe writings which in our times aſcertain the rights and privileges of the parties. Laban gathered his friends together and made a marriage-feaſt, when he deceived Jacob by given him Leah inſtead of Rachel; but as this feaſt is not mentioned as any thing new or uncommon, we have reaſon to ſuppoſe the cuſtom had obtained long before that time. Sampſon, when he married Delilah, made a feaſt which laſted ſeven days, "for ſo uſed the young "men to do." The Babylonians carried marriage-feaſts to ſuch an extraordinary length, that many having ruined their fortunes by the expence, a ſumptuary law was made to curb the extravagance. Among the ancient Scandinavians, almoſt every public tranſaction was attended with a feaſt, and that at the celebration of a marriage was a ſcene of revelry and drunkenneſs, which was frequently productive of the moſt fatal effects. The Phrygians too had ſumptuous

CHAP. XXV.

entertainments on theſe occaſions. Entertainments alſo of a like nature were common among the Jews in the time of our Saviour; and they are at this day given almoſt by all nations, but more particularly by thoſe, among whom the exceſs of politeneſs has not baniſhed merriment and ruſtic hoſpitality.

Betrothing what.

In an early period of the world, the intereſt, or ſometimes the inclination, of parents, when they had lived in a friendly manner with, and contracted a regard for, their neighbours, naturally prompted them to wiſh, that a marriage between their own children, and thoſe of ſuch neighbours might take place, to ſtrengthen the alliance of the families; and as this wiſh was frequently formed before the parties were of an age proper for ſuch a junction, they fell upon a method of ſecuring them to each other, by what is called in the ſacred writings betrothing. This was agreeing on a price to be paid for the bride, the time when it ſhould be paid, and when ſhe ſhould be delivered into the hands of her huſband. There were, according to the Talmudiſts, three ways of betrothing. The firſt, by a written

written contract. The ſecond, by a verbal agreement, accompanied with a piece of money. And the third, by the parties coming together and living as huſband and wife; which could not properly be called betrothing, *it was marriage itſelf.* The written contract was in the following words: "On ſuch a day, month, and year, A. the "ſon of B. has ſaid to D. the daughter of "E., be thou my ſpouſe according to the "law of Moſes and of the Iſraelites, and I "will give thee as a dowry for thy virginity "the ſum of two hundred Suzïms, as it is "ordered by our law; and the ſaid D. hath "promiſed to be his ſpouſe upon the condi-"tions aforeſaid, which the ſaid A. doth "promiſe to perform on the day of mar-"riage; and to this the ſaid A. doth hereby "bind himſelf, and all that he hath, to the "very cloak upon his back; engages him-"ſelf to love, honour, feed, clothe, and "protect her, and to perform all that is ge-"nerally implied in contracts of marriage in "favour of the Iſraelitiſh wives."

THE verbal agreement was made in the preſence of a ſufficient number of witneſſes, by the man ſaying to the woman, "Take

CHAP. XXV.

"this money as a pledge, that at ſuch a time "I will take thee to be my wife." A woman who was by any of theſe methods betrothed or bargained for, was almoſt in every reſpect by the law conſidered as already married, bound nearly by the ſame ties and obligations, and enjoyed nearly the ſame privileges and immunities, as ſhe who actually lived and cohabited with her huſband.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The ſame Subject continued.

CHAP. XXVI.

HITHERTO our obſervations on the origin and progreſs of the matrimonial compact have, for the moſt part, been either general, or confined to periods inveloped in the darkneſs of remote antiquity: we ſhall now endeavour to trace the ceremonies and uſages of that compact, through ages which begin to be better known, and in which, being furniſhed with more hiſtorical facts, we ſhall have the leſs occaſion to ſupply their place by probability and conjecture.

Marriage ceremony according to the Rabbies.

THOUGH, from what we have already obſerved, it is highly preſumable, that before the legiſlation of Moſes, the only marriage ceremonies among the Jews were ſending a few preſents, or feaſting together, to make the affair public; yet the Rabbies, ever fertile in imagination, have told us the contrary. "Marriages," ſay they, "were "even then agreed upon by the parents and "relations

CHAP. XXVI.

"relations of both ſides; which being done, "the bridegroom was introduced to his "bride; preſents were mutually exchanged, "the contract ſigned before witneſſes, and "the bride, having remained ſome time with "her relations, was ſent away to the habi-"tation of her huſband, in the night, with "ſinging, dancing, and the ſound of muſi-"cal inſtruments." Such, according to the Rabbies, was the marriage ceremony prior to the time of Moſes; let us alſo take a view of that which they tell us was inſtituted by him.

When the day appointed for celebrating the wedding was come, which was generally Friday for a maid, and Thurſday for a widow, the contract of marriage was read in the preſence of, and ſigned by at leaſt ten witneſſes, who were free and of age. The bride, who had taken care to bathe herſelf the night before, appeared in all her ſplendour, but veiled, in imitation of Rebecca, who veiled herſelf when ſhe came in ſight of Iſaac; ſhe was then given to the bridegroom by her parents, in words to this purpoſe; "Take her, according to the law "of Moſes;" and he received her, by ſaying, "I take

CHAP. XXVI.

"I take her according to that law." Some bleſſings were then pronounced upon the young couple, both by the parents and the reſt of the company.* The virgins ſung a marriage ſong. The company then partook of a repaſt, the moſt magnificent that the parties could afford; after which they began a dance, the men round the bridegroom, the women round the bride; and this dance, they pretended, was of divine inſtitution, and an eſſential part of the ceremony. The bride was then carried to the nuptial bed, and the bridegroom left in the chamber with her; when the company again returned to their feaſting and rejoicing, and the Rabbies inform us, that this feaſting, when the bride was a widow, laſted only three days, but ſeven if ſhe was a virgin. A law, which was ſo obligatory, that if a man married

* The bleſſings or prayers generally ran in this ſtyle: "Bleſſed art "thou, O Lord of heaven and earth, who haſt created man in thine "own likeneſs, and haſt appointed woman to be his partner and com-"panion! Bleſſed art thou, who filleſt Sion with joy for the multitude "of her children! Bleſſed art thou, who ſendeſt gladneſs to the bride-"groom and his bride! who haſt ordained for them love, joy, tender-"neſs, peace, and mutual affection. Be pleaſed to bleſs, not only this "couple, but Judah and Jeruſalem, with ſongs of joy, and praiſe for "the joy that thou giveſt them, by the multitude of their ſons and of "their daughters.

ſeveral

CHAP. XXVI.

ſeveral wives in one day, he was bound to allow a feaſt of ſeven days to each of them, in the order in which they were married.

In periods later than theſe we are now conſidering, the ceremonies of marriage were, according to the Rabbies, conſiderably changed. Both the man and woman were led to the houſe of marriage by their neareſt friends, where ten people at leaſt were to be preſent; there the bill of dowry being publicly ratified, the man ſpoke thus to the woman: "Be thou a wife to me, ac- "cording to the law of Moſes, and I will "worſhip and honour thee, according to the "word of God, and will feed and govern "thee, according to the cuſtom of thoſe "who worſhip, honour, and govern their "wives faithfully. I give thee, for dowry "of thy virginity, fifty ſhekels." At the birth of a ſon, the father planted a cedar; and at that of a daughter, he planted a pine. Of theſe trees the nuptial bed was conſtructed, when the parties, at whoſe birth they were planted, entered into the married ſtate.

From

CHAP. XXVI.

Ceremonies of marriage among the ancients not described.

FROM these imperfect sketches of marriage among the Jews, we now proceed to consider it among the other nations of antiquity. The Egyptians attributed the introduction of it to Menes their first sovereign. That it was early instituted among a people who took the lead in almost every thing that tended to improve society, we have little room to doubt: but though we have some account of the several ties and obligations of the married state among them, we are entirely ignorant of the manner in which that state was entered into. In this article, the history of the Philistines, Canaanites, Carthaginians, and many other nations, is involved in the same obscurity. Of the Philistines, however, we may observe, that their ideas of marriage must have been exceedingly crude and indigested, as the father-in-law of Sampson, gave away his daughter Delilah, to another husband, upon Sampson being sometime absent from her.

Assyrian method of disposing of their women in marriage.

THE ancient Assyrians seem more thoroughly to have settled and digested the affairs of marriage, than any of their contemporaries. Once every year they as-

CHAP. XXVI.

ſembled together all the girls that were marriageable, when the public crier put them up to ſale, one after another. For her whoſe figure was agreeable, and whoſe beauty was attracting, the rich ſtrove againſt each other, who ſhould give the higheſt price; which price was put into a public ſtock, and diſtributed in portions to thoſe whom nature had leſs liberally accompliſhed, and whom nobody would take without a reward. After the moſt beautiful were all diſpoſed of, the ordinary ſort were alſo put up by the public crier, and a certain ſum of money offered with each, proportioned to what it was thought ſhe ſtood in need of to bribe a huſband to accept of her. When any man offered to accept one of theſe, on the terms upon which ſhe was expoſed to ſale, the crier proclaimed, that ſuch a man had propoſed to take ſuch a woman, with ſuch a ſum of money along with her, provided none could be found who would take her with leſs; and in this manner the ſale went on, till ſhe was at laſt allotted to him who offered to take her with the ſmalleſt portion. When this public ſale was over, the purchaſers of thoſe that were beautiful, were not allowed to take them away, till they had

had paid down the price agreed on, and given ſufficient ſecurity that they would marry them; nor, on the other hand, would thoſe who were to have a premium for accepting of ſuch as were leſs beautiful, take a delivery of them, till their portions were previouſly paid. It is probable, that this ſale brought together too great multitudes of people from inconvenient diſtances, to the detriment, perhaps, of agriculture and commerce, and that ſtrangers could not give ſufficient ſecurity to fulfil their bargains; for a law was afterwards made, prohibiting the inhabitants of different diſtricts from intermarrying with each other, and ordaining, that huſbands ſhould not uſe their wives ill; a vague kind of ordonnance, which ſhews how imperfectly legiſlation was underſtood among theſe people.

HISTORY has not, ſo far as we know, given us any account of what was further meant by marrying the woman, after having thus publicly bargained for her. If we may judge, however, from the cuſtoms of the times, and of the neighbouring nations, we may ſuppoſe, that their further marriage conſiſted only in taking home to their houſes

CHAP. XXVI.

the wives they had bought, and calling their friends together to feaſt with them, and be witneſſes of their fulfilling the engagement they had entered into. Theſe hints concerning matrimony among the Aſſyrians plainly prove, that the proper regulation of it was an object of their moſt ſerious attention; but another circumſtance proves this in a ſtill ſtronger manner. The Aſſyrians had a court, or tribunal, whoſe only buſineſs was to diſpoſe of young women in marriage, and to ſee the laws of that union properly executed. What theſe laws were, or how the execution of them was enforced, are circumſtances which have not been handed down to us. But the erecting a court ſolely for the purpoſe of taking cognizance of them, ſuggeſts an idea that they were many and various.

In looking over the hiſtory of the other nations which flouriſhed in the times under review, we find no account of their marriage-ceremonies till we come to the Greeks; and this ſilence on the ſubject gives us reaſon to ſuppoſe, that in many countries they really had no other than the ſimple mode of carrying home a bride, and making a feaſt

a feaſt for her reception; this we are the more inclined to believe, when we conſider the circumſtantial detail we have, of many of the public ceremonies of Darius, of Cyrus, and ſome others; that we are not only told of their being married, but have alſo an account of the time when, and the perſons, to whom, but not the leaſt account of the manner how; which the hiſtorians of the times would ſcarcely have omitted, had their marriages been celebrated with pomp and public ceremony.

Though Cecrops, the firſt king of the Greeks, is ſuppoſed to have lived nearly about the time of Moſes, and to have inſtituted marriage among his own people; yet during the whole of the heroic ages, which laſted many centuries after Moſes, theſe people appear to have been ſo rude and uncultivated, that we cannot ſuppoſe they had brought this inſtitution to any perfection, either in its ceremonies or its laws. Whether Cecrops ordained that the Greeks ſhould follow the cuſtoms of the Egyptians in marrying, or went a ſtep farther, and fixed new ceremonies of his own, we know not. We are,

Cecrops firſt inſtituted marriage among the Greeks.

CHAP. XXVI.

are, however, informed, that at a marriage, even in the heroic ages, there was a meeting of relations and of neighbours; who, in order to recal to memory the times of ſimplicity, when their anceſtors lived almoſt entirely on the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, preſented the new-married couple with a baſket of acorns mixed with bread; a cuſtom, which, perhaps, gave birth to the nuptial ſcattering of nuts among the Romans. At this meeting, the Greeks, according to the hoſpitality of uncultivated people, had feaſtings and rejoicings; as appears from Theſeus being invited to the nuptials of Pirithous, when he helped him to kill a great number of Centaurs, who in their cups had offered violence to the female gueſts at the wedding; and from the ſtory of Attis, the ſon of Cybele, who was by Midas to have been married to his daughter, had not Cybele prevented it by breaking into the city, and cauſing a frenzy to fall upon all thoſe who aſſiſted at the ceremony of the nuptials. Some are of opinion, that pledges and ſecurities were, by the inſtitution of Cecrops, mutually interchanged between the parties; but this, and almoſt every other circumſtance relative to the mode

mode of marrying in the heroic ages, being only conjecture, we proceed to give ſome account of that mode, in periods when the hiſtory of the Greeks is leſs involved in fable, and more diſtinctly known.

Marriage ceremonies of the Greeks after they became a poliſhed people.

As ſoon as the conſent of the parents and relations was obtained, the parties were ſometimes betrothed, in theſe words: "I "give you this my daughter, to make you "the father of legitimate children." After which, the young couple plighted their faith to each other by a kiſs, or joining together their right hands, a cuſtom obſerved by the Grecians in all their public agreements. The Thebans plighted their faith to each other at the monument of Iolaus, who, after he had been deified, was ſuppoſed to take care of the affairs of love. The Athenian virgins, when marriageable, preſented baſkets of little curioſities to Diana, to obtain leave to depart from her train, ſhe being eſteemed the peculiar patron of maidens. And before they could lawfully marry, they preſented themſelves before her ſhrine at Brauron, an Athenian village, in order to appeaſe her for intending to depart from the ſtate of virginity, in which ſhe ſo much delighted.

CHAP. XXVI.

lighted. The Bœotians and Locrians of both ſexes offered, before their nuptials, a ſacrifice to Euclia, or Diana, to avert her reſentment againſt them, for changing from a ſingle to a married life. Theſe ſacrifices conſiſted in conſecrated wafers, cakes, and animals, which were ſlain on her altars. Several of the other gods and goddeſſes had ſacrifices offered at their altars on this occaſion, as Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; and Venus, who was generally invoked with peculiar fervency, as being the goddeſs of love. The Lacedæmonians had an ancient ſtatue of this goddeſs, to whom it was incumbent upon all mothers to offer ſacrifices on the marriage of their daughters. The multiplicity of male and female deities among the Greeks, who were concerned in the affairs of love, made the invocations and ſacrifices on this occaſion a tedious affair. Even the Fates were by no means to be forgot, but to obtain the favour of the Graces, the moſt ample offerings were beſtowed in the moſt liberal manner.

The time appointed for theſe ceremonies was commonly the day before the marriage, when the parties having cut off ſome of their hair,

hair, preſented it to ſuch deities as they moſt regarded, or to whom they thought themſelves under the greateſt obligations.

But beſides theſe ſacrifices preparatory to the marriage, other victims were offered at the ſolemnization of it; and on this occaſion, as ſoon as the victims were ſlain, they were opened, the gall taken out, and thrown behind the altar, to intimate that all gall and bitterneſs ſhould be thrown behind the parties, when they enter into the married ſtate. The entrails were then carefully inſpected by the ſoothſayers, and if they declared that any thing unlucky appeared in them, the nuptials were either delayed or entirely broken off; and the ſame thing took place if any ill omen happened, during the celebration of them, as was the caſe at the marriage of Clitophon with Calligone, where, an eagle having ſnatched a piece of the victim from the altar, the whole company diſperſed in terror and conſternation. Fortunate omens gave great joy, and the moſt fortunate of all others, was a pair of turtles ſeen in the air, as thoſe birds were reckoned the trueſt emblem of conjugal love and fidelity; but if one of them was ſeen alone,

CHAP. XXVI.

it infallibly denoted ſeparation and all the ills attending an unhappy marriage. We cannot help obſerving here, to what a train of groundleſs fears and apprehenſions ſuperſtition ſubjects her votaries, and how eaſily they may be deceived, in taking for the denunciations of heaven, the frauds and tricks of their enemies, as ſometimes happened to the Greeks; if what is reported be true, that ſuch as were averſe to a marriage, or wiſhed the parties to be unhappy, ſometimes took a ſingle turtle along with them, and letting it fly, either put an end to the ceremony, or filled the hearts of the contracting parties with terror and aſtoniſhment; but we muſt remark alſo, that thoſe who wiſhed well to the young couple, ſometimes carried a pair of turtles along with them, and by their flight diffuſed joy and gladneſs into all the company, and particularly into thoſe who were moſt intereſted in the fate of the marriage.

THE bride and bridegroom were richly dreſſed, and adorned with garlands of herbs and flowers. Cakes made of *ſeſame*, a plant remarkable for its fruitfulneſs, were plentifully diſtributed among the company. The houſe

houſe of the bridegroom was likewiſe adorned with garlands. A peſtle was tied to the door of it, a maid carried a ſieve, and the bride an earthen veſſel with barley, all which were emblems of her future employment. She was conducted in the evening to the houſe of her huſband in a chariot, ſeated between the huſband and one of his relations; ſervants carrying lighted torches immediately before, and ſingers and dancers preceding the whole cavalcade. When the bride alighted from the chariot, the axle-tree of it was burnt, to ſignify that there was no method left for her to return back. As ſoon as the young couple entered the houſe, figs and other fruits were thrown upon their heads, to denote plenty; and a ſumptuous entertainment was ready for them to partake of, to which all the relations on both ſides were invited. During the feaſt, the deities that preſided over marriage were invoked, and honoured with muſic and dancing. The chief intention of this feaſt, according to the Greek authors, was to make the marriage publicly known, and on that account was an eſſential part of the ceremony.

CHAP. XXVI.

THE dancing ended, the married couple were conveyed to their bed-chamber, previous to which, the bride bathed her feet in water, always brought from the fountain *Callirhoe*, on a ſuperſtitious opinion of ſome ſecret virtues it contained; this done, ſhe was lighted to bed, by a number of torches, according to her quality; round one of theſe torches, the bride's mother tied her own hair lace. It was alſo the privilege of the mother to light the torches, a privilege of which the Grecian matrons were exceedingly tenacious. The young couple being left together, were, by the laws of Athens, obliged to eat a quince, after which the bridegroom proceeded to looſe the bride's girdle, the young men and maidens ſtanding at the door ſinging epithalamia, the men making a great noiſe with their feet and voices to drown the cries of the bride. This done, the company retired, and returned in the morning, to ſalute the new-married couple, and to ſing epithalamia again at the door of their bed-chamber*.

* Epithalamia were marriage-ſongs, anciently ſung in praiſe of the bride or bridegroom, wiſhing them happineſs, proſperity, and a numerous iſſue.

THESE

CHAP. XXVI.

THESE ceremonies being finiſhed, the bride preſented to her huſband a garment, and preſents were made both to the bridegroom and bride, by their relations; they conſiſted in ſuch kinds of houſehold furniture as were then made uſe of, and were carried in great ſtate to their houſe by a company of women, preceded by a boy in white apparel, with a lighted torch in his hand, and between him and the women, a perſon with a baſket of flowers, as cuſtomary at the Grecian proceſſions.

Other ceremonies ſometimes uſed.

SUCH were the moſt material ceremonies at the celebration of a Greek marriage. A variety of others are frequently alluded to in their Authors; but as they would be tedious to relate, and ſeemed to have been leſs eſſential, we ſhall paſs over them in ſilence.

Manner of marrying at Sparta.

AT Sparta, marriages were conducted in a very different manner. When the preliminaries were ſettled by a female matchmaker, ſhe ſhaved the bride, dreſſed her in man's cloaths, and left her ſitting upon a mattraſs; the bridegroom ſtole privately to her, and having ſtaid a ſhort time, ſtole as pri-

CHAP. XXVI.

privately away, a conduct which the laws of that republic obliged a married couple to obſerve, in their intercourſe with each other, through the whole of their lives.

ALMOST innumerable inſtances have contributed to verify the obſervation, that friends agree beſt when they live ſeperate. The reaſon of this is plain. Every human being has a certain ſhare of follies and foibles, which, though it may conceal from the occaſional viſitor, cannot eſcape the notice of one who is domeſticated in the family. This continual domeſtication, this almoſt uninterrupted confinement to the company of each other, ſoon gives an European huſband and wife, an opportunity of diſcovering every blemiſh and imperfection; hence love dwindles into indifference, and indifference grows into contempt. The Spartan legiſlator ſeems to have been aware of this; he appears to have foreſeen, that in matrimony, as well as other friendſhips, love and regard would be diminiſhed by too intimate an acquaintance, he therefore ordained, that huſband and wife ſhould never have it in their power fully to ſhow their weak ſides to each other; and by this ordi-

ordination he kept their love from being cloyed, and their friendſhip from being extinguiſhed. CHAP. XXVI.

Marriage ceremonies among the Romans.

THERE were three different kinds of marriage among the Romans, diſtinguiſhed from each other by the names of Conferration, Coemption, and Uſe; Conferration was the manner in which only the pontiffs and other prieſts were married, and was always celebrated by a prieſt; *and we call the attention of our readers to this remarkable circumſtance; that, in the marriages of the pontiffs of ancient Rome, long before the chriſtian æra, we diſcover the firſt inſtance of prieſts having celebrated the rites of that inſtitution.* The ceremony conſiſted in the young couple eating a cake together, made only of wheat, ſalt, and water; part of which, along with other ſacrifices, were, in a ſolemn manner, offered to the gods of marriage.

THE ſecond kind of marriage, called Coemption, was celebrated by the parties ſolemnly pledging their faith to each other, by giving and receiving a piece of money; a ceremony which was the moſt common way of marrying among the Romans, and

which

CHAP. XXVI.

which continued in uſe even after they became Chriſtians. When writings were introduced to teſtify that a man and woman had become huſband and wife, and alſo, that the huſband had ſettled a dower upon his bride, theſe writings were called *Tabulæ Dotales*, dowry tables; and hence, perhaps, the words in our marriage ceremony, *I thee endow.*

THE third kind of marriage, denominated Uſe, was, when the accidental living together of a man and woman had been productive of children, and they found it neceſſary, or convenient, on that, and other accounts, to continue together; in which caſe, if they agreed the matter between themſelves, it became a valid marriage, and the children were conſidered as legitimate. Something ſimilar to this, is the preſent cuſtom in Scotland; where, if a man and woman live together till they have children, if the man marry the woman, even upon his death-bed, all the antinuptial children are thereby legitimated, and become intitled to the honours and eſtates of their father. The caſe is the ſame in Holland, and ſome parts of Germany; with this differ-

difference only, that all the children to be legitimated, muſt appear with the father and mother in the church, at the ceremony of their marriage.

As ſoon as a marriage by Coemption or Conferration was agreed upon, the augurs were conſulted, that they might declare the pleaſure of the gods, and point out a fortunate day for the celebration of it. When the contract was drawn up, it was ſealed with the ſeals of the parents, and the bride's portion depoſited in the hands of one of theſe augurs. The bridegroom ſent to the bride a plain iron ring. On the wedding-day, while the bride's head was dreſſing, it was cuſtomary to divide her hair into ſix treſſes with the point of a ſpear, after the manner of the veſtals; to teach her that ſhe was to be a veſtal to all but her huſband. She was then crowned with a wreath of vervain, and other herbs, gathered by her own hands. Over the wreath they ſometimes threw a veil, and put on her feet a pair of high heeled ſhoes, of the ſame colour as the veil. In ancient Rome, when the couple were ready for the ceremony, they put a yoke upon their necks, called *Conjugium;*

CHAP. XXVI.

and hence our word conjugal, or yoked together, is derived: a ceremony which is more emblematical of the matrimonial ſtate, than any we have hitherto met with. That the bride might ſeem reluctantly to part with her virginity, they made a ſhew of forcing her from the arms of her mother; five torches were always uſed on this occaſion, carried by five boys, previouſly waſhed and perfumed, in honour of the five divinities of marriage, Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Diana, and the goddeſs Perſuaſion. She was led by two young children to the houſe of her huſband. A diſtaff was carried behind her, with a ſpindle, and a trunk or baſket, in which was her toilette. When ſhe arrived at the door, which was adorned with garlands of flowers and evergreens, fire and water were preſented to her, and ſhe was at the ſame time aſked her name; to which ſhe anſwered, *Caia*, to ſignify that ſhe would be as good a wife as Caia Cæcilia, who was famous for the domeſtic and conjugal virtues. Before ſhe entered the houſe, ſhe was ſprinkled with luſtral water, that her huſband might receive her pure and undefiled. She likewiſe put wool upon the door, and rubbed it with oil, or with the fat of ſome animal.

animal. This done, ſhe was carried over the threſhold, which the augurs reckoned unlucky for her to touch. Immediately after, the keys of all things in the houſe were delivered to her, and ſhe was ſet upon a ſheep's ſkin with the wool on it, to teach her, that ſhe was from ſuch materials to provide cloaths for her family. After the young couple were conducted to their chamber, immediately before the company took their leave of them, the bridegroom ſcattered nuts to the children, and the men ſung verſes, to obviate charms and incantations. Care was taken that there ſhould be no light in the nuptial chamber, to ſpare the modeſty of the bride, and prevent the bridegroom from diſcovering her blemiſhes. The next day, the huſband gave a public entertainment, when the bride, appearing on the ſame couch with him at table, leaned upon him with an air of familiarity, and in her diſcourſe ſeemed to glory ſo much in having thrown off her virgin modeſty, that it became a proverb in Rome, when a woman talked indecently, to ſay, *ſhe talks like a bride.*

CHAP. XXVI.

SUCH were the ceremonies by which a huſband and wife were joined together, and ſuch the additional ceremonies that ſerved to give ſolemnity to their junction. In the early periods of Rome, Romulus ordered, that no woman ſhould pretend to direct her huſband, but that a huſband might diſcard his wife, if ſhe poiſoned the children, counterfeited the keys, or committed adultery. Subſequent periods, gave him a power to inflict a ſuitable puniſhment upon her, if ſhe acted perverſely, diſhoneſtly, or drunk wine; and even to kill her, if he ſurpriſed her in infidelity to his bed. But all the privileges were not on the ſide of the huſband; ſome of a very extraordinary nature belonged to the wives, or rather to the widows, of Romans. Children born ten months after the death of the huſband were reckoned legitimate; and Hadrian, thinking this period too ſhort, extended it to eleven.

Marriage ceremony among the Northerns

AMONG the northern nations who were contemporary with the Romans, and who afterward overturned their empire, a ſurpriſing ſimilarity of manners was every where obſervable. Wherever fighting was concerned, they were univerſally diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed by a brutal ferocity; while, in regard to the fair ſex, they carried their politeneſs, in many particulars, to a degree hardly known even among the moſt civilized nations. From the remoteſt antiquity, they confined themſelves to one wife, to whom they were married in a manner more ſolemn than we commonly meet with among a people ſo rude and uncultivated. The father, or guardian, gave away his daughter in words to this effect: "I give thee my "daughter in honourable wedlock, to have "the half of thy bed, the keeping of the "keys of thy houſe, one-third of the money "thou art at preſent poſſeſſed of, or ſhalt "poſſeſs hereafter, and to enjoy the other "rights appointed to wives by law." The huſband then made his bride a preſent, by way of dowry. The relations of both parties were witneſſes of what he gave; which were not things adapted to flatter her vanity, or adorn her perſon, but commonly conſiſted of ſome oxen, a bridled horſe, or a ſhield, ſpear, or ſword. In return for which, the bride made her huſband a preſent of ſome arms; and the mutual interchange of theſe preſents they eſteemed an indiſſoluble tie, as they were given and received before

witneſſes

CHAP. XXVI.

witneſſes the moſt nearly connected with them, and before the connubial gods.

These ceremonies more complex in later times.

As modes and cuſtoms are perpetually changing with the times and circumſtances, this ſimple ceremony, at laſt, became more complicated; the bridegroom ſent all his friends and relations to the houſe of the bride's father, who, with all the relations on her ſide, conducted her from thence to that of her future huſband, being led by a matron, and followed by a company of young maidens. On her arrival, ſhe was received by the bridegroom, who proceeded along with her to the church, where a prieſt performed the nuptial benediction. When the bride was a virgin, this was commonly done beneath a canopy, to ſave her bluſhes: when a widow, the canopy was thought unneceſſary. Among the Franks, inſtead of the church, marriages were to be performed in a full court, where a buckler had been three times lifted up, and three cauſes at leaſt openly tried; otherwiſe it was not valid. When it was done in the church, the prieſt afterward crowned the young couple with flowers: ſo crowned they went home, ſpent the afternoon in drinking

drinking and dancing, and at night, the whole company having ſeen them in bed together, drank to them, and retired. An ancient and inviolable cuſtom prevailed among the people we are now conſidering. The bridegroom on the morning after the marriage, was obliged to preſent the bride with a morgengabe, or morning-gift; which became, notwithſtanding of the laws of marriage, her ſole and abſolute property, and might be diſpoſed of in her life or at her death. This morgengabe, at firſt, was probably only money, cattle, or furniture, afterward it was frequently land; and ſuch was the influence of the clergy, that they often prevailed on the women to leave this land to the church.

HAVING thus far traced the ceremonies of marriage, we think it neceſſary to obſerve, that our ſole intention was not to exhibit theſe ceremonies for the entertainment of our readers, but with a view alſo to diſcover whether marriage itſelf, and the various modes of celebrating it, are of divine or human inſtitution.

CHAP. XXVI.

In the courſe of our narration, we have ſeen that the Jews attributed the inſtitution of marriage to the Creator himſelf, becauſe he made, and brought to Adam, a female companion; but as upon this occaſion, the ſcripture mentions no ſuch inſtitution, we may with equal reaſon ſuppoſe, that he inſtituted marriage among the other animals, becauſe he created them alſo male and female. We have further ſeen, that as the Jews, in general, attributed the inſtitution of marriage to the Divinity, ſo their Rabbies attributed the inſtitution of the ceremonies with which it was ſolemnized to Moſes, who was divinely inſpired. But Moſes mentions no ſuch thing, and has only in his code of legiſlation, iſſued a few regulations for the conduct of married people towards each other, and the neceſſity of theſe regulations ſhews, that marriage was, before his time, in ſo imperfect a ſtate, that we cannot reaſonably ſuppoſe it to have been directed by an all perfect being. The Liturgy alſo of our church, conſonant to the opinion of the Jews, tells us, "that marriage was inſtituted "in the ſtate of innocency;" but we can diſcover no foundation for ſuch aſſertion; and the polygamy of the antediluvians

vians and patriarchs plainly point out, that it was then only a cuſtomary agreement, or at beſt the work of ſome bungling legiſlator. We do not hereby mean to depriciate marriage---on the contrary, we regard it as one of the wiſeſt and moſt neceſſary regulations of ſociety; but, for the reaſons already given, we conſider it only as a human regulation.

In the ſhort hiſtory we have given of the riſe and progreſs of matrimony among the other primitive nations, we have ſcarcely found any of them even pretending that it was inſtituted by their gods, but by their firſt legiſlators, as by Menes in Egypt, and by Cecrops in Greece; nor have we found even among the Jews themſelves, that either prophet or prieſt were concerned in the celebration of it, though they managed every thing that was conſidered as ſacred, or of divine inſtitution. The other primitive nations had alſo prieſts, to whom the celebration of every holy rite was committed; but the magiſtrates, and relations of the contracting parties, were the only people who concerned themſelves about the rites of marriage; a ſtrong preſumption that

CHAP. XXVI.

it was not conſidered in any other light than as a civil compact.

It is a melancholy truth, that the improvement of ſociety improves alſo the arts of fraud and diſſimulation, and renders a far greater number of public ceremonies and laws, neceſſary to bind mankind to good faith, than are required among a ſimple uncultivated people. This is one reaſon why we have ſeen the ceremonies of marriage always becoming more complex, and more ſolemn. The laws of Moſes, and of almoſt all the ancient legiſlators, gave to men, a liberty of polygamy, of concubinage, and made divorces a matter of the greateſt facility; hence men were only accuſtomed to a yoke which felt light, and was eaſily ſhaken off. But the chriſtian legiſlator, viewing the two ſexes with impartiality, deſtroyed all theſe male privileges, ordered only one man and one woman to be joined together, and required the ſame abſolute unconditional fidelity from both. Unaccuſtomed to this ſeeming ſeverity, and conſidering it as an infringement of their liberty, the men became leſs faithful to their wives, and ſometimes endeavoured to obtain

obtain that freedom by the denial of their marriage, which they could not hope for from a divorce; hence, perhaps, religion was firſt called in, to overawe the conſcience, and make the compact more ſolemn.

Priests firſt performed the ceremony of marriage at Rome.

We have already mentioned that among the ancient Romans, hiſtory gives us the firſt account of prieſts having performed the nuptial ceremony; and, as the chriſtian religion was early introduced into Rome; from the pagan prieſts, the chriſtian clergy, perhaps, borrowed the cuſtom of celebrating marriages alſo. But it was ſome ages before mankind began to conſider theſe marriages, which were ſolemnized by a prieſt, as the only legal ones, or before the prieſts themſelves thought of appropriating this privilege entirely to their order. The Franks and ſome other chriſtians were married in their courts of juſtice, by their relations or magiſtrates. Whether chriſtian prieſts firſt performed the ceremonies of marriage, with a view to give them an additional ſolemnity, and, by ſo doing, to induce the parties more ſtrictly to obſerve their obligations, or with a view to add to the importance and revenues of the church, is at this period uncertain. But however

CHAP. XXVI.

that be, Soter, the fifteenth biſhop who filled St. Peter's chair, (for they had ſcarcely then aſſumed the name and authority of Pope) finding, that veſting the ſole right of performing marriage ceremonies in the clergy, was likely to bring in a very conſiderable revenue, ordained, that no woman ſhould be deemed a lawful wife, unleſs formally married by a prieſt, and given away by her parents. Though this was a great innovation on the ancient cuſtoms, and perhaps encroachment on the right of the civil power, we do not find that any reſiſtance was made to it at Rome. In other parts of the chriſtian world, however, where the ſucceſſor of St. Peter had leſs influence, parents and magiſtrates ſtill continued to exert the power of marrying; but this power ſeems, in proceſs of time, to have been almoſt entirely wreſted out of their hands, to do which the more effectually, the clergy dignified marriage with the name of a ſacrament, in order to keep the prophane laity entirely from adminiſtering it; but at what time they fell upon this expedient, is not certainly known.

CHAP. XXVI.

Power of marrying now ſolely veſted in the clergy.

AFTER a variety of nations had ſhaken off the authority of the church of Rome, they ſtill left in the hands of their prieſts, almoſt an excluſive power of joining the ſexes together in marriage. This, however, appears rather to have been by the tacit conſent of the civil power, than from any defect in its right and authority; for in the time of Oliver Cromwell, marriages were frequently ſolemnized by the juſtices of the peace; and the clergy neither attempted to invalidate them, nor to make the children proceeding from them illegitimate; and when the province of New England was firſt ſettled, one of the earlieſt laws of the colony was, that the power of marrying ſhould belong to the magiſtrates. How different was the caſe with the firſt French ſettlers in Canada! For many years a prieſt had not been ſeen in that country, and a magiſtrate could not marry. The conſequence was natural. Men and women joined themſelves together as huſband and wife, truſting to the vows and promiſes of each other. Father Charlevoix, a Jeſuit, at laſt travelling into theſe wild regions, found many of the ſimple, innocent inhabitants living in that manner; he rebuked them with much ſeverity, enjoined them

CHAP. XXVI.

them to do penance, and afterwards married them. At the Reſtoration, the power of marrying reverted again to the clergy. The magiſtrate, however, had not entirely reſigned his right to that power; but it was by a late act of parliament altogether wreſted from him, and a penalty annexed to the ſolemnization of it by any other perſon but a prieſt.

That the clergy, and none elſe, derive this power from heaven, a fooliſh notion.

WHENCE it originated is not eaſy to ſay, but a notion pretty generally prevails in this and ſeveral other countries, that the clergy, and they only, are veſted with a power from heaven, of licenſing men and women to come together for the purpoſes of propagation *; whereas nothing can be more evident, than that the two ſexes being made for each other, have, from nature, the right of coming together for this purpoſe, and of diſpoſing of themſelves to each other; ſo

* This was not the only uſurpation of the clergy in the middle ages, there were a variety of others. No man was allowed chriſtian burial who had not, according to his circumſtances, bequeathed ſomething to the church. A new-married couple were not allowed to go to bed together for the firſt three nights, unleſs they paid the church for a diſpenſation. In ſhort, a man could neither come into the world, continue in it, nor go out of it, without being laid under contribution by the clergy.

that

that a clergyman, in performing a marriage ceremony, does not confer any right or privilege on the parties, which they had not before, but only in a public manner, and as appointed by the legiſlature of his country, witneſſes and authenticates the public declaration they make of having entered into a matrimonial agreement according to the laws and cuſtoms of that country; to which bargain or agreement, this ſolemn and public authentication obliges the parties to ſtand, and becomes their ſecurity for the fidelity of each other: thus, whether the marriage ceremony be performed as it now is in moſt parts of the chriſtian world, by a clergyman, or, as it formerly was, and ſtill is in many parts of the globe, by a civil magiſtrate; neither the act of the clergyman, nor of the magiſtrate, convey any right, but only publicly record, that ſuch parties have entered with mutual conſent on the exerciſe of a right they have by nature; in the ſame manner, as when an heir at law ſucceeds to an eſtate, the ceremonies cuſtomary in the country where he reſides at entering him heir, do not convey to him any new right to that eſtate, but only publicly declare and manifeſt to his country,

that

CHAP. XXVI.

that he has entered into poſſeſſion of that eſtate by virtue of his inherent right as heir to it by nature.

Civil and religious compacts equally binding

THERE are many of our fair readers, who imagine that if marriage were only conſidered as a civil ceremony, it would loſe much of its validity; but a little reflection will diſcover this to be an error. When two or more people make an agreement to do ſuch and ſuch offices, and to abſtain from the doing of others, if they take an oath, on the Bible, on the Koran, or the Talmud, at the altar, or in the open field, the oath is not by any of theſe additional circumſtances rendered more or leſs binding, unleſs to ſuperſtitious minds. Its force and obligatory power is derived from another ſource: from our regard to moral rectitude, and its obligation upon us would be as ſtrong, and a breach of it as immoral and diſhonourable, if we made it in our cloſet, as if before witneſſes. Every perſon whoſe mind is not warped by ſuperſtition, conſiders himſelf to be as firmly bound by a civil as a religious oath, and with an equal degree of conſcientiouſneſs performs what he ſwore, at the bar, as at the altar; and were this not

not the caſe, we ſhould either be obliged to call in the aid of religion to every kind of obligation, or to put an end to all mutual truſt and confidence in civil tranſactions. Marriage, therefore, ſtands exactly in the ſame light as all other tranſactions of a nature intereſting to the public, it is not allowed that every one ſhould enter into it according to his own whim and caprice, but according to all the forms and ceremonies preſcribed by the laws of his country. In Japan, ſhe is only a lawful wife who is given by their great regal pontiff. By the laws of Mahomet, ſhe is only ſo, who is married by the judge; and in a great many parts of the world, ſhe cannot be ſo unleſs given by her parents. By the decrees of the council of Trent, ſhe is only lawfully married who is given in the preſence of at leaſt three witneſſes.

In different countries the word marriage admits of different ſignifications. Among the greateſt part of the ancients, it implied a ſort of bargain entered into between one man and ſeveral women, that they ſhould ſerve him, obey him, and be turned off at

CHAP. XXVI.

his pleaſure. In the Eaſt it implies nearly the ſame thing at this day. In the Greek iſlands, and many other places, it ſignifies a temporary agreement between a man and a woman, to cohabit together ſo long as they can agree, or find it convenient; and ſo long as the man can pay his fair partner the ſum for which ſhe ſtipulated to live with him. On the coaſt of Guinea, and in many parts of Aſia, it ſignifies a legal condemnation of the ſex to be the ſlaves of their huſbands, to labour for their ſubſiſtence, and to rear their children. In Europe, it is a mutual, and almoſt indiſſoluble agreement between one man and one woman, to live and cohabit together, through every circumſtance of proſperous and adverſe fortune, till death ſhall ſeparate them.

HAVING given theſe imperfect ſketches of the origin and progreſs of marriage; having marked as we came along, ſome of the cauſes which rendered the celebration of it more public and ſolemn, we now proceed to take a view of the manner in which wives were formerly acquired; of the rights, privileges, and immunities of married perſons;

sons; the restraint laid upon them; and of the customs and usages by which they are governed and directed in their conduct to the world, and to one another. CHAP. XXVI.

CHAP. XXVII.

The ſame Subject continued.

CHAP. XXVII.

WHEREVER the rights of nature are entire, women have a power to diſpoſe of themſelves in marriage. Where theſe rights are only in ſome degree infringed, the conſent of parents, relations or guardians, is neceſſary. Where they are totally deſtroyed, the ſex are diſpoſed of by their parents and relations, in a manner little different from bargain and ſale. The legiſlator, or the parents, almoſt every where deny to women who are under age, the liberty of diſpoſing of themſelves; and even ſuch women as are of age, enjoy this liberty only in Europe, and colonies peopled by Europeans. Formerly in England, when a girl, between fourteen and twenty-one, got married without the conſent of her parents, the law ordained no remedy for the evil; but by the late marriage act, all marriages contracted in the time of minority, without ſuch conſent, are declared null and void; and parents, and guardians are inveſted with a

power

power of hindering their children, or wards, from marrying, till they have completed their twenty-firſt year. Among the Greeks, Romans, and ſeveral other people, a woman never obtained the power of chuſing her partner in wedlock. When the Roman empire was overturned, when the feudal ſyſtem was erected on its ruins, it was ordained, that no daughter of a vaſſal ſhould be given in marriage, without the conſent of the lord: and at this day, the daughters of the great, even in the politeſt countries of Europe, can ſcarely be ſaid to enjoy any diſpoſing power of themſelves, but are frequently ſtipulated for in a treaty of peace, or a family compact, and at laſt married, by proxy, to a man whom they never ſaw, and conſequently cannot tell whether they may love or hate.

Wives purchaſed in a variety of places.

In the moſt early periods of time, a woman ſeems to have been taken poſſeſſion of for a wife, without any conditional agreement; after theſe periods, the moſt common way of obtaining her ſeems to have been by purchaſing her from her relations. Abraham bought Rebecca for his ſon; Jacob, deſtitute of any thing to give, ſerved Laban fourteen years for his two daughters; and Sechem,

CHAP. XXVII.

Sechem, when in love with Jacob's daughter, was determined not to break off the match for whatever price her friends might fix upon her. The ſame cuſtom is mentioned in a variety of places of Homer. It was practiſed in Thrace, in Spain, Germany, and Gaul. It is now practiſed in Hindoſtan, China, Tartary, Turkey; by the Moors of Africa, and the ſavages in a variety of other parts of the world. In Gaul, during the fifth century, the princeſs Clotilda, daughter of Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians, being married to Clovis by proxy, the proxy preſented her with a ſol and a denier, as the price of her virginity. In England, a wife was bought in a different manner; in the time of Edward the Third, Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to the king to obtain his requeſt to Iſola Biſſet, that ſhe ſhould take him for a huſband. Roger Fitz-Walter gave three good palfreys, to have the king's letter to Roger Betram's mother, that ſhe ſhould marry him. In theſe times, when the kings of England exerciſed ſo unlimited a power over their ſubjects, the king's requeſt, or his letter, amounted to an abſolute command, and the money paid to obtain theſe, was as literally the purchaſe of

of a wife, as if it had been paid for her at a public ſale. CHAP. XXVII.

In Timor, an iſland in the Indian Ocean, it is ſaid, that parents ſell their children to purchaſe more wives. In Circaſſia, women are reared and improved in beauty and every alluring art, only for the purpoſe of being ſold. The prince of the Circaſſians, demanded from the prince of Mingrelia, an hundred ſlaves loaded with tapeſtry, an hundred cows, as many oxen, and the ſame number of horſes, as the price of his ſiſter. In New Zealand we meet with a cuſtom which may be called purchaſing a wife for a night, which is a proof that thoſe muſt alſo be purchaſed who are intended for a longer duration. The Thracians put the faireſt of their virgins up to public ſale. The magiſtrates of Crete had the ſole power of chuſing partners in marriage for their young men; in the execution of this power, the affection and intereſt of the parties were totally overlooked, and the good of the ſtate the only object of attention; in purſuing which, they always alloted the ſtrongeſt and beſt made of each ſex to one another, that

CHAP. XXVII.

that they might raiſe up a generation of warriors, or of women fit to be the mothers of warriors.

Reaſons why wives brought a dowry inſtead of being purchaſed.

In the primitive ages, when the number of the human race was but few, when every one might conſequently appropriate to himſelf, and cultivate ſuch grounds as lay moſt convenient for his uſe; when his wife and children, as ſoon as they were able, aſſiſted in this and every other kind of labour; a wife was rather an advantage than otherwiſe, and therefore ſhe was bought, both as an inſtrument of propagation, and an aſſiſtant in the occupations of life. But as ſocieties were formed, lands and goods of all kinds appropriated, and women became, perhaps, leſs induſtrious, every addition to a family became an additional expence; hence, inſtead of a man paying a price for his wife, it was neceſſary he ſhould receive ſomething along with her. Marriage, therefore, became a compact between one man and one or more women, according to the cuſtom of the country, to join their ſtocks, intereſts, and perſons together, that they might be the better enabled to bring up a family, and carry on the trade or buſineſs by

by which they were to acquire a ſubſiſtence. The ſtock or fortune of a woman ſo married, was called her portion or dowry, and in proceſs of time came to be ſettled upon her as a ſecurity from want, if her huſband ſhould die before her.

Origin of portions.

As the Egyptians were ſuppoſed to be the firſt people who arrived at any degree of cultivation, among them we meet with the firſt account of portions. Pharaoh gave the city of Gazer to Solomon king of Iſrael, as a portion with his daughter. We do not recollect any other account of portions till we come to the Greeks; when we find Phares of Chalcedon, ordering, by a law, that the rich ſhould give portions with their daughters to the poor, but receive none with ſuch women as were married to their ſons. A law, which he had founded on the cuſtom of his country; for Helen brought to Menelaus the kingdom of Sparta, and afterwards, in default, we ſuppoſe, of male heirs, the daughters of ſeveral Grecian kings carried the kingdoms of their fathers, as dowries to their huſbands. But although this was the caſe with regard to kingdoms, yet the contrary ſeems, in caſes of private

CHAP. XXVII.

property, to have been the general practice, as we learn from the ſtory of Danaus, whoſe daughters having rendered themſelves infamous, their father cauſed a proclamation to be made, that he would not demand any preſents from thoſe who ſhould marry them; and from the conduct of Agamemnon to Achilles, who tells him, that he will give him one of his daughters in marriage, without requiring any preſents. The preſents uſually made on thoſe occaſions were of two kinds; the firſt was given to the father of the lady, as a bribe or price to engage him to give his daughter to the ſuitor; the ſecond, to the lady herſelf, in order to gain her affection: and ſome authors are of opinion, that the preſents thus made to the father and the daughter, were joined together to compoſe the fortune of the latter, which was ſettled upon her as her dower. So that if the huſband did not literally purchaſe a bride, he bribed her to his arms, and to an independence, with his own money. This kind of dower, or ſeparate property of the wife, ſeems not only to have been an early cuſtom, but alſo widely diffuſed among the ancients. In the laws of Hindoſtan, it is accurately ſettled and defined; and in Arabia,

Arabia, it took place ſo long before the appearance of Mahomet, that in his time it ſeems to have been thoroughly canvaſſed and underſtood. The bridegroom ſent the preſents of which it conſiſted, from his houſe to that of the bride, with ſuch an oſtentatious pomp and parade, that though the whole might have been carried by two or three horſes or camels, twenty or thirty at leaſt were commonly employed for the purpoſe.

Reaſons why a dower was ſettled on a widow.

As the principles of equity and juſtice began to be unfolded, it was eaſy to diſcover, that women who had aſſiſted their fathers and huſbands in acquiring the goods of fortune, ſhould not be given in marriage by the firſt without portions, nor left by the laſt at death without ſettlements as an equivalent for theſe portions; hence the cuſtom of receiving a fortune with a bride, and ſettling at leaſt an equivalent upon her and her heirs, inſinuated itſelf into every country, in proportion as its inhabitants became civilized, and acquainted with the natural rights of mankind.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of polygamy and concubinage.

BESIDES the methods of purchaſing wives of their relations, and agreeing with themſelves by a mutual compact; polygamy and concubinage are circumſtances which greatly influence the conduct of a huſband towards them. Polygamy, or the cuſtom of marrying a plurality of women, began in a very early period of the world. Lamech took two wives, and from that time forward it is probable, all the inhabitants of the Eaſt followed his example, and took as many as their inclinations and circumſtances would allow of. From the manners of the primitive ages, we may ſuppoſe, that concubinage followed ſoon after polygamy, though we have no diſtinct account of it till the time of Abraham, in whoſe hiſtory we are preſented with the ceremony of making a concubine; a ceremony which to us at this period appears not leſs ſingular than unnatural. Sarai, Abraham's wife, being barren, takes her handmaid Hagar, preſents her to her huſband, and prays him to go in unto her, and raiſe up ſeed to Sarai. Although we are not here told of any compulſion on the part of Abraham, it would ſeem that this was not altogether a voluntary act of his wife, as it is ſo unnatural for one woman

to

to allow another peaceably to ſhare the embraces of her huſband, which even now in Hindoſtan, where the practice has ſubſiſted time immemorial, the ſex are brought to with the greateſt difficulty; as we find by one of the laws of that people, which ordains, "that whatever a huſband, on his "contracting a ſecond marriage, may give "his wife *to pacify her*, is to be reckoned "her ſole and abſolute property."

POLYGAMY and concubinage having in proceſs of time become faſhionable, the women kept by the great were more for grandeur and ſtate, than for ſatisfying the animal appetite: Solomon had threeſcore queens, and fourſcore concubines, and virgins without number. Maimon tells us, that among the Jews a man might have as many wives as he pleaſed, even to the number of a hundred, and that it was not in their power to hinder him, provided he could maintain, and pay them all the conjugal debt once a week; but in this duty he was not to run in arrear to any of them above one month, though with regard to concubines he might do as he pleaſed.

THE

CHAP. XXVII.

THE ancient Germans were ſo ſtrict monogamiſts*, that they reckoned it a ſpecies of polygamy for a woman to marry a ſecond huſband, even after the death of the firſt. "A woman," ſaid they, "has but one "life, and one body, therefore ſhould have "but one huſband;" and beſides, they added, "that ſhe who knows ſhe is never to have a "ſecond huſband, will the more value and "endeavour to promote the happineſs and "preſerve the life of the firſt." Among the Heruli this idea was carried farther, a woman was obliged to ſtrangle herſelf at the death of her huſband, leſt ſhe ſhould afterward marry another; ſo deteſtable was polygamy in the North, while in the Eaſt it is one of theſe privileges which they moſt of all others eſteem, and maintain with ſuch inflexible firmneſs, that it will probably be one of the laſt of thoſe that the Europeans will wreſt out of their hands.

THE Egyptians, it is probable, did not allow of polygamy, and as the Greeks borrowed their inſtitutions from them, it was alſo forbid by the laws of Cecrops, though

* Monogamy is having only one wife.

concu-

concubinage ſeems either to have been allowed or overlooked; for in the Odyſſey of Homer we find Ulyſſes declaring himſelf to be the ſon of a concubine, which he certainly would not have done, had any great degree of infamy been annexed to it. In ſome caſes, however, polygamy was allowed in Greece, from a miſtaken notion that it would increaſe population; in others the laws ſometimes took no notice of it. Euripedes is ſaid to have had two wives, who, by their conſtant diſagreement, gave him a diſlike to the whole ſex; a ſuppoſition which receives ſome weight from theſe lines of his Andromache:

——————— ne'er will I commend
More beds, more wives than one, nor children curs'd
With double mothers, banes and plagues [of life.

Socrates too had two wives, but the poor culprit had as much reaſon to repent of his temerity as Euripedes.

Late inſtances of polygamy and bigamy.

POLYGAMY ſeems not to have been entirely eradicated among the Chriſtians in the ſixth century, as we find it then enacted in

CHAP. XXVII.

in the canons of one of their councils, that if any one is married to many wives he ſhall do penance. Even the clergy themſelves, in this period, practiſed bigamy*, as we find it ordained by another council held at Narbonne, that ſuch clergyman as were bigamiſts, ſhould only be preſbyters and deacons, and ſhould not be allowed to marry and conſecrate. In the eight century, Charlemagne had two wives. Sigebert and Chilperic had alſo a plurality, according to Gregory of Tours. But our aſtoniſhment is ſtill more excited, to find inſtances of bigamy and polygamy ſo late as the ſixteenth century. The German reformers, though their declared intention was to conform literally to the precepts of the goſpel, were, nevertheleſs, inclined to introduce bigamy as not inconſiſtent with theſe precepts. Philip, Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, wanted, in the lifetime of his wife, to marry a young lady named Catharine Saal, and having ſome ſcruples of conſcience, *though in every other reſpect a man of good ſenſe*, he ſeemed to believe that the approbation of Luther

* He who marries two wives commits bigamy; if more than two, it is polygamy.

and

and his brethren, could ſet aſide the moral turpitude of marrying two wives. He, therefore, repreſented to them his caſe, told them, that his wife, the princeſs of Savoy, was, ugly, had bad ſmells about her, often got drunk; that his conſtitution was ſuch as laid him under the frequent neceſſity of gratifying his appetite; and concluded with ſome artful hints, that unleſs they granted him a diſpenſation to marry another wife, he would aſk it of the pope. Luther upon this convoked a ſynod of ſix reformers, who found that polygamy had been practiſed by a Roman emperor, and by ſeveral of the kings of the Franks; that marriage was only a civil compact, and that the goſpel had no where in expreſs terms commanded monogamy. They therefore ſigned a permiſſion for Philip to marry another wife, which he did ſoon after, with the ſeeming conſent of his firſt wife, the princeſs of Savoy. Thus Luther exerciſed an authority which even the moſt daring of the popes, in the plenitude of his apoſtolic power, had never ventured to attempt.

The famous Jack of Leyden, who is ſo well known in hiſtory, pretending to be a

CHAP. XXVII

prophet and a king, gave out that in the article of women he had a right to follow the example of the kings of Iſrael, by taking as many wives as he thought proper. Whether urged by privilege or inclination, we know not, but he actually proceeded ſo far as to marry ſeventeen; and had he not been cut ſhort in the career of his glory and fanatiſm, would probably have married twice that number.

Inſtances of women being allowed a variety of huſbands.

As the men have almoſt in all countries arrogated to themſelves the power of making laws and of governing the women, they have in a great variety of places indulged in a plurality of wives, but almoſt entirely debarred the women from a plurality of huſbands, there are, nevertheleſs, a few inſtances of their enjoying, in places where their credit and influence ſeem equal if not ſuperior to their huſbands, this privilege. We have already taken notice, that in ſome provinces of ancient Media, the women had a plurality of huſbands, as the men in others had a plurality of wives. On the coaſt of Malabar, a woman may have to the number of twelve huſbands; and in ſome cantons of the Iroquois in North America, ſhe

ſhe may have ſeveral. Father Tanchard reports, that in the neighbourhood of Calicut, the women of the ſuperior caſts may have a variety of huſbands, and that ſome of them actually have ten, all of whom they conſider as ſo many ſlaves ſubjected to their perſonal charms. A gentleman, who has lately viſited the kingdoms of Bautan and Thibet, obſerves, that all the males of a family are frequently ſerved by one wife. Inſtitutions like theſe, as they militate againſt the juriſdiction of the men, and are deviations from the cuſtom of all other countries, muſt have originated from extraordinary and uncommon circumſtances; but what theſe were, or when they took place, are among the deſiderata of hiſtory, which are never likely to be cleared up.

It would only be treading the path, which hundreds have trod before us, ſhould we attempt here to recite all the arguments that have been uſed for and againſt polygamy: the greateſt part of thoſe againſt it, have turned upon this hinge, that all men are by nature equal, and have conſequently an equal right to a wife; that the two ſexes are nearly equal in number; and where one

CHAP. XXVII.

man marries a variety of women, there can be none left for ſeveral others. We pretend not to favour polygamy, as we think it far from being either natural or political; but we cannot help obſerving one circumſtance, which we do not recollect to have met with, that in the countries where it is practiſed, it becomes in ſome degree neceſſary, on account of the great number of eunuchs, which make the number of women greatly exceed that of the men; ſo that while the infamous practice of making eunuchs is allowed, polygamy muſt be allowed alſo, otherwiſe many women muſt for ever want huſbands.

Conſequences of purchaſing wives, what.

WHEREVER women are purchaſed for money; wherever they have not power to prevent the practices of polygamy and concubinage, the treatment they receive from their huſbands is greatly influenced by theſe circumſtances. A man thinks it hard, if he has not the liberty of diſpoſing of what he purchaſed, when he is no longer pleaſed with it: hence, wives that are bought, are generally divorced at pleaſure; and what ſeems ſtill leſs natural, they are ſometimes borrowed and lent, like a piece of money,

or

or of furniture. The Spartans lent a wife with as much indifference, as they would have done a horſe, or an aſs; and the elder Cato is ſaid to have philoſophiſed himſelf into the ſame cuſtom. Where polygamy is practiſed, women are but of little conſequence in ſociety; huſbands, therefore, take the liberty of ruling them more with the iron rod of a tyrant, than the love and affection of an huſband.

More latitude given to men than to women in the married ſtate.

MATRIMONY, in all nations, being a compact between a male and female, for the purpoſe of continuing the ſpecies, the firſt and moſt neceſſary obligation of it has been thought fidelity; but, by various people, this fidelity has been variouſly underſtood. Almoſt all nations, ancient and modern, have agreed in requiring the moſt abſolute unconditional fidelity on the part of the woman; while, on that of the man, greater latitude has been given. Civilians, who have endeavoured to aſſign a reaſon for this difference, tell us, that the hand of ſeverity is held ſo cloſely over the incontinence of married women, and ſo much latitude given to the men, becauſe the men generally have the care of providing for the

CHAP. XXVII.

the offspring; and it would be hard that a man ſhould be obliged to provide for, and leave his eſtate to children, which he could never with certainty call his own, were the ſame indulgence given to the women as to the men. A ſhorter way of explaining the matter would have been, to have ſaid, that men are generally the legiſlators. Where women have ſhared in the legiſlation, they have put their own ſex on a more equal footing with ours.

Power of huſbands.

WHERE civil ſociety has made little or no progreſs, the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of power is to tyrannize over weakneſs. Hence the men, till they are ſoftened by politeneſs, and taught by cuſtom to do otherwiſe, commonly enſlave and oppreſs the women. In what we have already related, ſo many proofs of this have occurred, that we need not again have recourſe to particular inſtances. We ſhall therefore go on to obſerve, that beſides the illegal advantages, which power is ever apt to aſſume, over weakneſs; as men were almoſt every where the lawgivers, moſt of the legal advantages of matrimony were alſo on their ſide. Whoever among the Jews had

had married a wife, could not, on any account, be forced to leave her for the ſpace of one year. Among the Romans, even in their moſt poliſhed ſtate, in certain caſes, the huſband might proceed ſo far as to puniſh his wife by death. Amongſt almoſt every ſavage people, whipping, and even death itſelf, are frequently inflicted by an enraged huſband. In a council of the Chriſtian prelates and clergy, held in the year 400, it was decreed, that if any clergyman's wife had ſinned, her huſband ſhould keep her bound, and faſting in his houſe; only he ſhould not take away her life. This was giving an unlimited liberty to huſbands; every man might eaſily charge his wife with having ſinned, and conſequently might puniſh her at his diſcretion.

The Brazilians take as many wives as they think proper, diſmiſs them when they find it convenient, and puniſh their incontinence with death. The Canadians, in ſome places, cut off the tip of their noſes, and making a circular inciſion on the crown of their heads, take off a piece of the ſcalp, for the ſame crime. In Europe, the power of a huſband is conſiderably extended by the

CHAP. XXVII.

the laws of the goſpel, and of the conſtitution, both over the perſon and property of his wife; but this power is generally executed with ſo much lenity and indulgence, that a ſtranger, on ſeeing a ſpouſe and his loving rib together, would be apt to imagine it was placed on her ſide. This is owing, in ſome meaſure, to politeneſs, as well as to fortune. For ſuch is the power of fortune over the conduct of the human ſpecies to each other, that it conſtantly commands at leaſt the external appearance of deference to the poſſeſſor. Wherever, therefore, portions are faſhionable, they obliterate the ſlavery of a wife to her huſband, put a ſtop to polygamy, and diſcountenance concubinage; for what woman will voluntarily purchaſe a tyrant, or give the whole of her fortune for the ſhare only of a huſband; which ſhare ſhe muſt maintain againſt an unlimited number of rivals. While an European wife, therefore, bringing an acquiſition of wealth along with her, is treated by her huſband as his equal, and frequently honoured with ſuperior notice, the wife of an Eaſtern, being purchaſed, is conſidered as his ſlave; is never allowed to eat with him; ſeldom to ſit down in his company, and always

always obliged to behave to him as to a maſter and ſuperior: and not even content with her paying him all theſe teſtimonies of reſpect in his preſence, ſhe is obliged to ſubmit to a variety of mortifications in his abſence. "If a man," ſays the Gentoo laws, "goes on a journey, his wife ſhall not divert "herſelf, nor play; nor ſhall ſee any public "ſhow; nor ſhall laugh, nor ſhall dreſs her-"ſelf in jewels and fine cloaths, nor ſhall ſee "dancing, nor hear muſic, nor ſhall ſit in "the window, nor ſhall ride out, nor ſhall "behold any thing choice and rare; but "ſhall faſten well the houſe-door, and re-"main private, and ſhall not eat any dainty "victuals, and ſhall not blacken her eyes "with eye-powder, and ſhall not view her "face in a mirror; ſhe ſhall never exerciſe "herſelf in any ſuch agreeable employment "during the abſence of her huſband." For all theſe mortifications, one would naturally expect ſome kind treatment and indulgence from the huſband, when he returns home: but the contrary is the caſe; for we are alſo informed by the ſame laws, that if ſhe ſcolds him, he may turn her away; that he may do the ſame, if ſhe quarrels with any body elſe, ſpoils his or her property, or

CHAP. XXVII.

even if ſhe preſumes to eat before he has finiſhed his meal; and that he may ceaſe from all further conjugal duty, if ſhe is barren, or always brings forth daughters.

But beſides aſſigning to a wife theſe mortifications, ſuperſtition furniſhed the Hindoo alſo with a method, which he ſuppoſed would infallibly detect her infidelity in his abſence. When he went abroad, he twiſted together, in a particular manner, two branches of *Retem;* if on his return he found them exactly as he left them, he was perfectly ſatisfied that ſhe had been chaſte; but if any accident had in the leaſt altered or diſcompoſed them, all the proofs which heaven and earth were able to afford, could not vindicate her innocence, or ſave her from his chaſtiſement. Nor was the power of a huſband exerted over his wife only when ſhe proved unfaithful to his bed, it extended to a variety of other circumſtances. If ſhe went out of the houſe without his conſent. If ſhe entered into the houſe of a ſtranger. If ſhe held diſcourſe with any other man than a Takier. If ſhe appeared with her boſom uncovered, and with garments that did not reach from the calf

calf of her leg to the middle of her waiſt. If ſhe laughed without drawing a veil over her face. If ſhe ſtood at the door, or looked out at the window, in all theſe, and a variety of other caſes, ſhe was liable to be turned away, or corrected.

Privilege of wives.

ALTHOUGH the men have conſtantly aſſumed the power of making human, and explaining divine, laws, yet they have not left ſuch women as entered into the ſtate of matrimony entirely without privileges. Among the Jews, when a man married an additional wife, the food, raiment, and duty of a huſband, he was in noways to diminiſh to thoſe he had before. Mahomet, when he permitted every man to have four wives, eaſily foreſeeing that ſome of them would be neglected, while others were greater favourites, poſitively inſtituted, that every thing, as proviſions, dreſs, and the duty of a huſband, ſhould be equally divided among them. In the Maldivian iſles, a man is allowed to marry three wives, and is obliged to obſerve the ſame law. This law appears to have been made among the Jews, in order to prevent the increaſe of polygamy, which was every day becoming

CHAP. XXVII.

more common; and the laſt clauſe of it particularly ſeems to have been well calculated for that purpoſe.

At what period, or by whom, the laws of the Egyptians were firſt promulgated, is uncertain; but if what has been aſſerted by ſome ancient authors be true, that the men, in their marriage contracts, promiſed obedience to their wives, we may ſuppoſe that the women had no inconſiderable ſhare in the legiſlation, otherwiſe they could hardly have obtained ſo ſingular a privilege. But, ſingular as this privilege may appear, it is yet exceeded by the power of wives in the Marian iſlands: there, a wife is abſolutely miſtreſs of every thing in the houſe, not the ſmalleſt article of which can the huſband diſpoſe of without her permiſſion; and if he proves ill-humoured, obſtinate, or irregular in his conduct, the wife either corrects, or leaves him altogether, carrying all her moveables, property, and children along with her. Should a huſband ſurpriſe his wife in adultery, he may kill her gallant, but by no means muſt uſe her ill. But ſhould a wife detect her huſband in the ſame crime, ſhe may condemn him to what puniſh-

puniſhment ſhe pleaſes; and to execute her vengeance, ſhe aſſembles all the women in the neighbourhood, who, with their huſbands' caps on their heads, and armed with lances, march to the houſe of the culprit, tear up all his plants, deſtroy his grain, and having ruined every thing without doors, fall like furies upon his houſe, and deſtroy it, together with the owner, if he is not already fled. But beſides this puniſhment inflicted on his incontinence, if the wife does not like her huſband, ſhe complains that ſhe cannot live with him, and gathers together her relations, who, glad of the opportunity, plunder his houſe, and appropriate to the wife and to themſelves the ſpoil. Such privileges, however, we cannot ſuppoſe to be legal, as the inhabitants of the Marian iſlands are too rude to have many laws, and too little under the ſubjection of their governors, to obſerve thoſe they have.

Such of the officers of the Grand Seignior as are married to his daughters or ſiſters, are honoured in public, but in private debaſed by the alliance; for they are not allowed to come into, nor ſit down in the

CHAP. XXVII.

the company, of their wives, without permiſſion, and almoſt in every particular are obliged to act in a character little leſs ſubordinate than the meaneſt of their ſlaves; nay, ſo far is their ſubjection carried, that according to a writer of the laſt century, when the Grand Seignior gives a daughter, or a ſiſter, in marriage, he makes the following ſpeech: "I give thee this man to be thy "ſlave; and if he offend thee in any caſe, "or be diſobedient to thy will, I give thee "this dagger to cut off his head;" and it is added, that ſhe conſtantly wears the dagger, as a ſign of the power conferred upon her. Among the Natches, the daughters of nobles are by law obliged to marry into obſcure families, that they may exert a governing and directing power over their huſbands; which they do ſo effectually, that they turn them away when they pleaſe, and replace them by others of the ſame ſtation. Such is their puniſhment for the ſlighter offences againſt the majeſty of their wives; but when any of them are unfaithful to the marriage-bed, thoſe wives have a power of life or death over them. Wives who are of the blood of their great ſun, or chief, may have as many gallants as they pleaſe, nor muſt their

their daſtardly huſbands ſo much as ſeem to ſee it, But this is not all: ſuch huſbands muſt, while in the preſence of their wives, ſtand in the moſt reſpectful poſture, accoſt them in the moſt ſubmiſſive tone, and are not allowed to eat with them, nor derive any privilege from ſo exalted an alliance, but exemption from labour, which is more than counterbalanced by every ſpecies of debaſement and mortification. The Moxes, a people alſo of North America, are ſaid to be obliged, by law, to yield a moſt obſequious obedience to their wives, and to ſhift their habitations, and follow them, when, and to whatever place they chuſe to remove.

In Holland, where frugality and induſtry not only mark the character of almoſt every individual, but even alſo of the legiſlative power, an extraordinary privilege is veſted in fathers. To prevent the prodigality of their children, they may impriſon ſuch of them as they apprehend are likely to ſpend their fortunes. Huſbands may exerciſe a ſimilar authority over their wives. But what is ſtill more extraordinary, and diſtinguiſhes their code of legiſlation from that of

CHAP. XXVII.

of every other people in Europe, wives may on the ſame account impriſon their huſbands. The laws, however, have in ſuch caſes, cautiouſly guarded them from ſuffering in this manner through cruelty or wantonneſs of power, they require the moſt undeniable evidence, that the wife and her family are in danger of being ruined, before a magiſtrate will deprive the huſband of his liberty. Laws the moſt favourable to liberty do not uniformly mark the legiſlation of Republics, there is not, perhaps, in the moſt deſpotic kingdom on the globe, an inſtitution more calculated to deſtroy freedom, than to veſt the power of depriving of it, in the hands of private perſons.

Among the ancient Germans, and other northern nations, we have ſeen that women were in general honoured and eſteemed, but we have no account of their wives being diſtinguiſhed by any particular privilege. Among a few of their tribes, however, who allowed of polygamy, one of the wives always claimed and exerciſed a ſuperiority over the reſt; but if ſhe ſurvived her huſband, her prerogative was dearly purchaſed, ſhe was obliged to burn herſelf on his funeral pile.

pile. In Turkey, the privilege of a lawful wife is, that ſhe can claim her huſband every Friday night; but every other night he may, if he pleaſes, dedicate to his concubines. Even among the Hindoos, where women have little regard paid to them but as the inſtruments of animal pleaſure, the property of a wife is ſecured from her huſband; and we are told by their laws, that he may not take it without her conſent, unleſs on account of ſickneſs, or to ſatisfy the demands of a creditor, who has confined him without victuals; and that if, on any other account, he ſhould ſeize on it, he ſhall be obliged to repay it with intereſt.

As fidelity to the marriage-bed, eſpecially on the part of the woman, has always been conſidered as one of the moſt eſſential duties of matrimony, all wiſe legiſlators, in order to ſecure that fidelity, have annexed ſome puniſhment to the breach of it; theſe puniſhments, however, have generally ſome reference to the manner in which wives are acquired, and to the value ſtamped upon them by civilization and politeneſs of manners. It is ordained by the Moſaic code, that both the man and the woman taken in

CHAP. XXVII.

adultery ſhall be ſtoned to death; whence it would ſeem, that no more latitude was given to the one than the other. But this was not the caſe; ſuch an unlimited power of concubinage was conferred on the men, that we may ſuppoſe him highly licentious indeed, who could not be ſatisfied therewith, without committing adultery. The Egyptians, among whom women were greatly eſteemed, had a ſingular method of puniſhing adulterers of both ſexes; they cut off the privy parts of the man, that he might never be able to debauch another woman; and the noſe of the woman, that ſhe might never be the object of temptation to another man. According to Spelman, a law of a ſimilar nature was iſſued by Canute, ordering the noſe and ears of that woman to be cut off, who cohabited with any man beſides her own huſband.

PUNISHMENTS nearly of the ſame nature, and perhaps nearly about the ſame time, were inſtituted in the Eaſt Indies againſt adulterers; but while thoſe of the Egyptians originated from a love of virtue and of their women, thoſe of the Hindoos probably aroſe from jealouſy and revenge. It is ordained by

by their laws, "that if a man commit adul-
"tery with a woman of a ſuperior caſt, he
"ſhall be put to death. If by force he com-
"mit adultery with a woman of an equal
"or inferior caſt, the magiſtrate ſhall confiſ-
"cate all his poſſeſſions, cut off his genitals,
"and cauſe him to be carried round the
"city, mounted on an aſs. If by fraud he
"commit adultery with a woman of an
"equal or inferior caſt, the magiſtrate ſhall
"take his poſſeſſions, brand him in the fore-
"head, and baniſh him the kingdom." Such are the laws of this people, ſo far as they regard all the ſuperior caſts, except the Bramins; but if any of the moſt inferior caſts commit adultery with a woman of the caſts greatly ſuperior, he is not only to be diſmembered, but tied on a hot iron plate, and burnt to death; whereas the higheſt caſts may commit adultery with the very loweſt, for the moſt trifling fine; and a Bramin, or prieſt, can only ſuffer by having the hair of his head cut off; and, like the clergy of Europe while under the dominion of the Pope, he cannot be put to death for any crime whatever. But the laws, of which he is always the interpreter, are not ſo favourable to his wife; they inflict a ſevere

CHAP. XXVII.

diſgrace upon her, if ſhe commit adultery with any of the higher caſts; but if with the loweſt, "the magiſtrate ſhall cut off her "hair, anoint her body with *Ghee*, and cauſe "her to be carried through the whole city, "naked, and riding upon an aſs; and ſhall "caſt her out on the north ſide of the city, "or cauſe her to be eaten by dogs. If a "woman of any of the other caſts goes to "a man, and entices him to have criminal "correſpondence with her, the magiſtrate "ſhall cut off her ears, lips, and noſe, mount "her upon an aſs, and drown her, or throw "her to the dogs." To the commiſſion of adultery with a dancing-girl, or proſtitute, no puniſhment nor fine is annexed. Unleſs we were thoroughly acquainted with the ideas entertained of riding upon an aſs, we cannot pretend to ſay why it ſhould have been a puniſhment inflicted on adulterers; but the inſtances we have now given, are not the only ones we meet with in hiſtory, where it was applied to this purpoſe. Plutarch tells us, that the Cumœans ſet a woman taken in adultery upon an aſs, and led her round the city, accounting her ever after infamous, and nicknaming her the aſs rider. The Piſdians treated an adulterer in the ſame

ſame manner as the Cumœans did an adultereſs, and ſtigmatized him with the ſame degree of infamy.

Eaſtern ideas of adultery.

It is worth remarking here, that the word adultery, which among all other nations is underſtood to mean an illicit correſpondence between married people, among the Hindoos is extended to every ſpecies of illicit commerce between the ſexes; nor is it leſs remarkable, that among this people, the paſſions are ſo warm and ungovernable, that every opportunity of committing this crime, is conſidered as an actual commiſſion of it. They have three diſtinct ſpecies of adultery. The firſt is, "when in a place "where there are no other men, a perſon "holds any converſation with a woman, and "winks, and gallantries, and ſmiles paſs on "both ſides; or the man and woman hold "converſation together in the morning, or "in the evening, or at night, or the man "dallies with the woman's cloaths, or when "they are together in a garden, or an unfre-"quented place, or bathe together in the "ſame pool." The ſecond is, "when a man "ſends ſandal wood, or a ſtring of beads, "or victuals and drink, or cloaths, or gold,

or

CHAP. XXVII.

"or jewels, to a woman." The third is, "when a man and woman ſleep and dally "upon the ſame carpet, or in ſome retired "place, kiſs and embrace, and play with "each other's hair; or when the man car-"ries the woman into a retired place, and "the woman ſays nothing." Such are the definitions of adultery in the laws of the Hindoos; but in the puniſhments annexed to them, it appears that their legiſlature was not directed ſo much by the moral turpitude of the crime, as by the dignity of the ſeveral caſts, and by that revenge which ſo naturally reſults from jealouſy, in a climate where animal love is the predominant paſſion.

By the laws of Moſes, when a man caught a betrothed virgin in the field, and lay with her, he only was put to death; as the law in that caſe ſuppoſed, that ſhe had cried and there was none to help her. But in the city, if any one lay with a betrothed virgin, they were both ſtoned; for then the law ſuppoſed, that if ſhe had cried, ſhe would have found aſſiſtance to ſave her from the raviſher. So great was the abhorrence of adultery in the firſt ages, that moſt of the

the ancient legiſlators prohibited it by the ſevereſt penalties; and there are ſtill extant ſome Greek copies of the Decalogue, where this prohibition is placed before that againſt murder, ſuppoſing it to be the greater crime.

In the heroic ages, while revenge was almoſt the only principle that actuated the Greeks, adultery was frequently puniſhed by murder. In the Italian ſtates, in Spain and Portugal, though they have proper laws for the puniſhment of this crime, revenge conſiders them as too mild, and cruelly watches an opportunity of ſtabbing the offender. In no caſe has the principle of revenge operated more ſtrongly on the human mind than in the puniſhment of this crime. When the Levite's wife was defiled, it inſtigated the Iſraelites to take arms, and almoſt to deſtroy the whole tribe of Benjamin, becauſe they refuſed to give up the adulterers. Thyeſtes having debauched the wife of his brother Atreus, Atreus invited him to a feaſt, and in revenge entertained him with the fleſh of his own ſon. Margaret of Burgundy, queen to Lewis Hutin king of France, was

CHAP. XXVII.

was hanged for adultery; but not contented with the death of her gallants, they were ordered to be flead alive.

So greatly does a man reckon himſelf diſhonoured and affronted by the infidelity of his wife, and ſo ſtrong is the principle of revenge, that the puniſhment of female adulterers will frequently not wait for the cool and dilatory ſentence of the law, which does not keep pace with the vengeance which the huſband reckons due to the crime. In ſome places, the execution of this law is left to the huſband. The Novels of Juſtinian gave a huſband a right to kill any perſon whom he ſuſpected of abuſing his bed, after he had given him three times warning in writing before witneſſes, not to converſe with her. Among the ancient Swedes and Danes, if a huſband caught his wife in the act of adultery, he might kill her, and caſtrate her gallant. And among ſome of the tribes of Tartars, it was not uncommon for a huſband to deſtroy his wife even upon ſuſpicion. Some of the eaſtern chiefs, on ſuſpicion of the infidelity of their wives and concubines, order them to be buried up to the chin, and left to expire in the utmoſt agony.

agony. The Grand Scignior, if he ſuſpects any of his women, orders her to be ſewed in a ſack, and thrown into the next river. Among the ancient Germans, the huſband had a power of inſtantly inflicting puniſhment on his adulterous wife; he cut off her hair in the preſence of her relations, drove her naked out of his houſe, and whipped her through the city. In the kingdom of Benin, the huſband exerciſes a ſimilar power. Somewhat leſs ſevere is the puniſhment of an adultereſs in ſeveral other countries, where the ſenſe of honour is leſs acute. The Chineſe, a phlegmatic kind of people, ſell an adultereſs for a ſlave. Their neighbours of Laos do the ſame. And in old times, even the king of Wales thought a full reparation was made for the diſhonour of defiling his bed, by obliging the offender to pay a rod of pure gold, of the thickneſs of the finger of a ploughman, who had ploughed nine years, and which would reach from the ground to the king's mouth when ſitting. Adulterers are at this time in England and ſeveral other countries, puniſhed by a fine, as a compenſation to the huſband for having injured his honour. Such a mode of puniſhment, however, ſometimes opens a door to

CHAP. XXVII.

one of the moſt infamous practices; it tempts an unworthy huſband to make a market of the incontinence of his wife. Among the modern Jews, an adulterer is in winter immerſed in cold water ſeveral days together, without any regard to the ſeverity of the ſeaſon; and obliged to ſtand there till an egg is boiled hard. In ſummer his puniſhment is ſtill more remarkable; he is ſtripped naked, and expoſed to be ſtung for ſome days by bees and ants. By an ancient law of England, an adulterer became the property of the king, who might put him to hard labour at home, or employ him in the wars abroad.

Various ideas of the criminality of adultery.

In what has been now obſerved, we ſee the gradation of the ideas concerning adultery. Among ſome people it is thought a crime not to be expiated but with death; among others whipping is reckoned a ſufficient puniſhment; others again think a fine fully compenſates for it; while in ſome ſavage countries, it is not conſidered as having the ſmalleſt degree of criminality. In Louiſiana, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochinchina, it is even looked upon as an honour; they preſent to ſtrangers their wives and daughters,

daughters, and think it a disgrace to their beauty and merit if they are refused. Herodotus mentions a people called Gendanes, whose wives gloried so much in their debauchery, that they were authorized to add an additional border to their garment for every new lover; and she who wore the greatest number of these borders, was most envied by her own sex, and esteemed by ours.

Where the punishment of adultery is vested in the laws of the country, it is commonly less severe, than where vested in the hands of the party offended; and even when in the hands of the offended, it is commonly more or less severe according to the ideas entertained of women, and to the power assumed over them; where it is vested in the hands of the women, though it may not be more severe than when in those of their husbands, yet as their passions and jealousies are stronger, they are apt to inflict it where the certainty of the guilt is not so well ascertained.

Of all the modes which have been adopted for the punishment of adultery, with the greatest efficacy, and at the same time with

CHAP. XXVII.

the leaſt ſeeming ſeverity, we give the preference to theſe which follow: Edgar king of England enacted, that an adulterer of either ſex ſhould, for the ſpace of ſeven years, live three days every week upon bread and water. Canute, in the beginning of his reign, finding that the puniſhment then in uſe of cutting off the noſe and the ears, did not anſwer the purpoſe; decreed, that ſuch as broke their conjugal vow ſhould be condemned to perpetual celibacy. A ſimilar idea for the puniſhment of the ſame crime, has ſuggeſted itſelf to the Muſkohge Americans, a people noway famous for ingenuity in legiſlation; they oblige the adultereſs to obſerve the ſtricteſt continence during four full moons from the time that her crime was diſcovered. Perhaps this idea of a mild and efficacious puniſhment was more perfectly conceived by the Greeks, than in any of the foregoing inſtances. In ſome of their ſtates, a woman offending in this manner, was never after allowed to adorn herſelf with fine cloaths, and if ſhe did, any one might tear them off, and beat her, ſo as not to deſtroy or diſable her; adultereſſes were ſubject to the ſame treatment if they were found in the temples of

the

the gods, and their huſbands were forbid ever to cohabit with them under the pain of being declared infamous. CHAP. XXVII.

We might eaſily inſert here, a variety of other methods of puniſhing adultery, but as theſe few convey a tolerable idea of the ſentiments entertained of this crime in different periods, and by different people, we ſhall proceed to obſerve, that the canon law, following rather the footſteps of Moſes than of Jeſus, always condemned adulterers to death: one of the canons has theſe remarkable words, "Let adulterers be ſtoned, "that they may ceaſe to increaſe, who will "not ceaſe to be defiled." And Pope Sixtus Quintus, not content with the death of adulterers themſelves, ordained, that ſuch huſbands as knew their wives to be unfaithful, and did not complain to him, ſhould be put to death alſo. Amid all this ſeeming regard for conjugal fidelity and ſanctity of manners, we are ſorry to obſerve, that the clergy of the middle ages, while they enacted canons againſt, and puniſhed adultery with excommunication, were themſelves a kind of licenſed adulterers. Debarred from marriage, regardleſs of character, and exempted from

CHAP. XXVII.

from the puniſhments inflicted on the laity; their ſhameleſs debaucheries were often carried to ſuch lengths as we could ſcarcely credit, were we not aſſured of them by the moſt authentic records.

Of divorce.

In the primitive ages, before the laws of matrimony were properly underſtood and digeſted, and before the rights of women were ſettled upon any other baſis than the pleaſure of their parents and huſbands, the facility of divorcing or putting away a wife, was almoſt equal to that of obtaining her. The ancient Iſraelites had a power of divorcing their wives at pleaſure. "When a man," ſays Moſes, "hath taken a wife and married "her, and it come to paſs that ſhe find no "favour in his eyes, becauſe he hath found "in her ſome uncleanneſs, then let him "write a bill of divorcement*, and give it

* Moſes has not told us what was the form of a bill of divorcement; but according to the Rabbies, it was as follows: "On ſuch a day, "month, and year, I A. of ſuch a place, upon, or near ſuch a river, "do of my own free conſent and choice, repudiate thee B. my late "wife, baniſh thee from me, and reſtore thee to thy own liberty, and "thou mayeſt henceforth go whither, and marry whom thou will, and "this is thy bill of divorcement and writing of expulſion, according "to the law of Moſes and Iſrael." This bill was to be ſigned and delivered in the preſence of at leaſt two witneſſes, was to be wrote

"into

"into her hand, and ſend her out of his houſe." This vague expreſſion of uncleanneſs gave occaſion among the Jews to the moſt frequent divorces, even upon every trifling occaſion, inſomuch that one of their Rabbies tells us, it was lawful, and ſometimes practiſed by a huſband, if a wife ſpoiled his dinner; and by another, that a huſband might give his wife a bill of divorce, if he met with a woman who pleaſed him better. A privilege which gave this fickle people ſuch an unlimited right of getting rid of their wives when diſagreeable to them, was highly valued, and reckoned one of their diſtinguiſhing prerogatives; but he who deflowered a virgin forfeited it, and the law obliged him, in compenſation for that injury, not only to pay her father fifty ſhekels of ſilver, but to marry and retain her for life. Was it poſſible to deviſe a law that more ſtrongly protected female chaſtity?

CHAP. XXVII.

But this facility of divorcing was not peculiar to the Jews, it reſulted from the

upon a particular kind of parchment, in a particular letter, and with a particular ink, and was to undergo ſeveral formalities and examinations, deviſed in thoſe times as a counterpoiſe againſt the too great facility of ſeparation.

nature

CHAP. XXVII.

Reaſons of divorce in various countries.

nature of the matrimonial engagement; for when a man purchaſed his wife as he did a ſlave, it naturally followed that he might turn her off when he found that ſhe did not anſwer the purpoſe for which he intended her. But in countries where the natural rights of women are eſtabliſhed, where the bargain is between the man and his wife, is conditional, and the fortunes of both are joined in one common ſtock, the nature of this bargain implies, that neither of them are privileged to diſmiſs the other without a juſt cauſe. In many parts of the world, this cauſe has been conſtrued to be a mutual diſlike of the parties, and a mutual conſent of ſeparation; in others it is barrenneſs of the woman. In moſt places of Europe, no cauſe has been deemed valid, except adultery and impotence. The French have reckoned inequality of rank and fortune, a ſufficient cauſe of divorce; as if the laws of heaven were regulated by the number of lewis d'ors, or the title beſtowed by a prince. The Turks, in direct oppoſition to this cuſtom, take wives from their own ſlaves, and never ſuppoſe that difference of condition can interfere with happineſs, or be the cauſe of ſeparation. Several of the primitive councils enjoined

enjoined a huſband, for the ſalvation of his ſoul, and on pain of ſpiritual cenſure, to put away his adulterous wife. The council of Trent, of a widely different opinion, not only decreed that the marriage-bond was indiſſoluble, but alſo pronounced an Anathema againſt all who ſhould preſume to think, that affairs relating to marriage were cognizable in any other than an eccleſiaſtical court*; notwithſtanding this, the Pope, who frequently arrogated to himſelf a power of trampling on all the laws of heaven and earth, frequently diſſolved marriages either with or without cauſe, when it ſuited his intereſt, or the parties were able to give him a handſome reward; while the poor plaintiff could not be admitted to a hearing, at the chair of him who ſtyles himſelf *ſervant of ſervants*.

ENGLISH lawyers, ever fond of verboſity and endleſs diſtinctions, have divided di-

* It is remarkable that the council of Trent did not iſſue this decree as their own opinion, or as the mandate of the ſcripture, but ſaid it was the decree of our original progenitor Adam, who had likewiſe ordained, that only one man and one woman ſhould be joined together. In what archives did the reverend fathers find this decree? They muſt have been excellent antiquarians!

CHAP. XXVII.

vorces into two kinds; the firſt, when the party is divorced from bed and board, but not allowed to marry again; the ſecond, when he or ſhe is divorced or looſened from the chains of matrimony, and allowed to marry again at pleaſure: but neither of theſe kind of divorces can be obtained by any other means than a proof of adultery. Milton, and ſeveral other writers who followed him, galled by the indiſſoluble chain which they thought themſelves intitled to break, have endeavoured, by a variety of arguments, to ſhew, that equity, natural juſtice, and ſound policy, all dictate, that the matrimonial compact ought to be diſſolved from a variety of other cauſes beſides adultery. The legiſlature has, however, hitherto taken no notice of theſe arguments. *When philoſophy and reaſon have ſtill farther enlightened the human mind, they may perhaps undergo a ſcrutiny, and from that ſcrutiny, ſome new regulations may ariſe.*

Power of divorcing ſometimes veſted in the wives.

In rude and uncultivated ſtates of ſociety, we have ſeen that the power of divorce is placed in the huſband; in civil ſociety, it is veſted in the law: but in ſome ſtates it

appears to have been occupied by, and in others formerly veſted in, the women. Joſephus tell us, that Salome, ſiſter to Herod the Great, was the firſt who took upon her to repudiate her huſband, and that her example was ſoon followed by many others; this we may alſo learn from Juvenal, who ſays,

While the laſt wedding-feaſt is ſcarcely o'er,
And garlands hang yet green upon the door;
So ſtill the reck'ning riſes, and appears
In total ſum, eight huſbands in five years.

And of Martial, who declares that,

Within the ſpace of thirty days were led
Ten huſbands gay, to Theleſina's bed.

Among the Cherokees, the women are ſaid to marry as many huſbands as they think proper, and to change and divorce them at pleaſure; a cuſtom, which with little variation, we have already ſeen practiſed by the women of ſeveral other countries.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The ſame Subject continued.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THOUGH we have ſeen in the courſe of our enquiry, that the ideas of the matrimonial compact, and of the duties and privileges of the parties entering into it, have been very different in different periods, and among different people; yet, as any regulation of the commerce between the ſexes is better than a vague and undetermined commerce, every well governed ſtate has ſolicitouſly endeavoured either to promote that kind of matrimony already in uſe, or to rectify its errors, and model it in a new and better manner.

In ſome countries matrimony was conſidered as an almoſt indiſpenſible obligation upon the fair ſex, hence the Iſraelitiſh damſels bewailed their virginity, when death was likely to ſnatch them from the world in their virgin ſtate; but they were not the only women who reckoned perpetual virginity a misfortune. The ancient Perſians were

were of opinion, that matrimony was ſo eſſentially neceſſary, that ſuch of either ſex as died ſingle muſt infallibly be unhappy in the next world. This opinion gave birth to the moſt ſingular cuſtom we meet with in hiſtory. When any one died unmarried, a relation, or, in default of ſuch, a perſon hired for the purpoſe, was ſolemnly married to the deceaſed, as ſoon as it could conveniently be done after death, as the only recompence now left for having neglected it in life.

Ridiculous as a marriage of this kind muſt be when viewed in the eye of reaſon, the two following inſtances are, perhaps, ſtill more ſo, and ſhew what follies mankind may be led into by ignorance and vanity. The Canadians, before they uſe their ſein, or great net, marry it to two young virgins; and having prepared a marriage-feaſt, while they are regaling themſelves with it, place the ſein between the brides, tell it what honour they have conferred on it, exhort it to be grateful, and take them plenty of fiſh; and further, to induce it to comply with their wiſhes, they make ſome preſents to the fathers of the damſels, to whom they have joined

CHAP. XXVIII.

joined it, and promiſe them more, that intereſt, as well as gratitude, may conſpire to make it perform its duty. The Doge of Venice is annually married to the ſea; the ceremony is performed with great pomp and ſolemnity; the Doge drops a gold ring from the ſtern of his ſhip, and ſays, "We eſpouſe "thee, O ſea! in ſign of our perpetual do-"minion over thee."

THE Turks of this preſent period at Conſtantinople, reckoning the firſt great command, "increaſe and multiply," the moſt neceſſary of all others, entertain the ſame opinion of virginity as the Perſians, though they take no ſuch ridiculous methods of endeavouring to obviate the effects of it on their future happineſs. "Every woman," ſay they, "was made to have as many "children as ſhe can, ſhe, therefore, who "dies unmarried, dies in ſtate of repro-"bation." Virginity was likewiſe reckoned a misfortune and diſgrace by the Greek women; Sophocles introduces Electra bewailing her hard fate in not being married; and Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, being angry with his daughter for diſſuading him from going to meet Orates, governor of Sardis,

Sardis, threatens her, that ſhould he return in ſafety, he would defer given her in marriage for a long time. But this female diſlike to living ſingle, has not been peculiar to any period or people, it has univerſally prevailed among the ſex. In many nations, laws have been promulgated to prompt the men to enter into matrimony, to prompt the women none have ever been needed. "Young women," ſays the celebrated Monteſquieu, "who are conducted by marriage "alone to liberty and pleaſure, have ſuffi- "cient inducements to lead them on to "that ſtate; it is the young men that want "to be encouraged."

Matrimony encouraged by all the Greeks.

A VARIETY of encouragements have accordingly been offered by the wiſeſt legiſlators to tempt young men into matrimony; but leſt theſe ſhould not be ſufficient, diſagreeable circumſtances, and even puniſhments, have been alſo annexed to the ſtate of a batchelor. The Lacedemonians were not only ſevere againſt thoſe who abſtained from, but alſo againſt thoſe who deferred, entering into the conjugal ſtate. No man among them could live ſingle beyond the time appointed by the laws of his country, without

CHAP. XXVIII

without incurring ſeveral penalties. Old batchelors were obliged once every winter to run naked round the market-place, ſinging a ſong which was expreſſive of their crime, and expoſed them to ridicule. They were excluded from the games where the Spartan virgins, according to the cuſtom of their country, danced naked. On a certain ſolemnity, the women, in revenge for the contempt which was ſhewn them, were allowed to drag theſe deſpiſers of matrimony round an altar, beating them all the time with their fiſts; and laſtly, they were deprived of all that honour and reſpect which the young men of Greece were obliged to pay to their ſeniors. One of their old captains coming into an aſſembly, when he expected that a young man by whom he ſtood would have riſen to give him his ſeat, received this rebuke from him: "Sir, you "muſt not expect that honour from me, "being young, which cannot be returned "to me by a child of yours when I am "old." In Athens there was a law ordaining, that public offices ſhould not be given to any but ſuch as were married, and had children; this law did not only prompt the men to marry, but gave the ſtate a kind

kind of ſecurity for their good behaviour in their wives and children. A law ſomething ſimilar to this now exiſts in Switzerland, where no batchelor can hold any lucrative employment.

Encouraged alſo by all other well regulated ſtates.

THE Jews were of opinion, that marriage was an indiſpenſible duty implied in the words, "increaſe and multiply;" a man, therefore, who did not marry at or before the age of twenty, was conſidered as acceſſary to every irregularity which the young women for want of huſbands might be tempted to commit; and hence there is a proverb in the Talmud: "Who is he that "proſtitutes his daughter, but he who keeps "her too long unmarried, or gives her to an "old man." Among the ancient Perſians, though there was no poſitive law for the encouragement of matrimony, yet their kings frequently propoſed annual prizes as a reward to thoſe who were fathers of the greateſt number of children.

IN the code of Hindoo laws, juſtice, equity, and good faith, are every where ſtrongly inculcated; but of ſo great importance did the legiſlator reckon mar-

CHAP. XXVIII.

riages, that he even diſpenſed with good faith and veracity, in order to promote them. "If a marriage," ſay the Pundits, "for "any perſon be obtained by falſe witneſſes, "ſuch falſehood may be told upon the day "of celebrating the marriage, if on that "day the marriage is liable to be incom- "plete, for want of giving certain articles. "At that time, if three or four falſehoods "be aſſerted, it does not ſignify. Or if on "the day of marriage, a man promiſes to "give his daughter many ornaments, and "is not able to give them, ſuch falſehoods "as theſe, if told to promote a marriage, "are allowable."

WHILE the Romans retained their primitive ſimplicity and integrity, no laws were requiſite to encourage their young men to marry; when they became debauched with the love of pleaſure, and expenſive in the purſuit of it; when their wives required immenſe ſums to uphold their extravagance, and their children ſcarcely leſs to give them a proper education, neither threatenings nor encouragements could ſometimes prevail on them to enter into that ſtate. In no country was there ever a legiſlature more forward in attempting to encourage matrimony

matrimony, in none were the ſubjects ever leſs forward in ſeconding theſe attempts. CHAP. XXVIII.

As ſoon as luxury and expence had begun to frighten, and licentious pleaſures to decoy the Roman citizens from marriage, to counterbalance theſe, it was thought neceſſary to deny ſuch men as had not entered into that alliance the privilege of giving evidence in courts of juſtice; and the firſt queſtion aſked by the judge was, Upon your faith, have you a wife, whereby you may have children? If he anſwered in the negative, his evidence was refuſed. And ſo intent were the Roman conſuls at one time upon multiplying their citizens, that they extorted from all the men an oath, that they would not marry with any other view than that of increaſing the ſubjects of the republic, and that whoever had a barren wife ſhould put her away and marry another. But the men, who had other opportunities of ſatisfying their appetites than that of marriage, continued ſtill fond of celibacy, which obliged the cenſors, upon finding that population was decreaſing, to extort another oath from them, that they would marry with all convenient ſpeed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

As it commonly happens that oaths extorted by compulſion are but ill obſerved, unleſs the ſame compulſatory power alſo enforces obedience to them. Theſe impoſed upon the Romans had but little effect; to remedy which, new honours were heaped upon the married, and fines and puniſhments were laid upon the batchelors. It was ordained, That ſuch of the plebeians as had wives, ſhould have a more honourable place in the theatres than ſuch as had none; that the married magiſtrates and patricians ſhould have the precedency of ſuch of the ſame rank as were unmarried; and that the fines which had been firſt levied by Camillus and Poſthumus upon batchelors, ſhould be again exacted.

When Julius Cæſar had ſubdued all his competitors, and moſt of the foreign nations which made war againſt him, he found that ſo many Romans had been deſtroyed in the quarrels in which he had engaged them, that, to repair the loſs, he promiſed rewards to fathers of families, and forbad all Romans who were above twenty, and under forty years of age, to go out of their native country. Auguſtus, his ſucceſſor, to check the

the debauchery of the Roman youth, laid heavy taxes upon such as continued unmarried after a certain age, and encouraged with great rewards the procreation of lawful children. Some years afterward, the Roman knights having pressingly petitioned him, that he would relax the severity of that law, he ordered their whole body to assemble before him, and the married and unmarried to arrange themselves in two separate parties, when, observing the unmarried to be the most numerous, he first addressed those who had complied with his law, telling them, That they alone had served the purposes of nature and of society. That the human race was created male and female to prevent the extinction of the species; and that marriage was contrived as the most proper method of renewing the children of that species. He added that they alone deserved the name of men and of fathers, and that he would prefer them to such offices as they might transmit to their posterity. Then turning to the batchelors, he told them, That he knew not by what name to call them. Not by that of men, for they had done nothing that was manly. Not by that of citizens, since the city

CHAP. XXVIII.

city might periſh for them. Nor by that of Romans, for they ſeemed determined to let the race and name become extinct. But by whatever name he called them, their crime, he ſaid, equalled all other crimes put together, for they were guilty of murder, in not ſuffering thoſe to be born who ſhould proceed from them. Of impiety, in aboliſhing the names and honours of their fathers and anceſtors. Of ſacrilege, in deſtroying their ſpecies, and human nature, which owed its original to the gods, and was conſecrated to them; that by leading a ſingle life they overturned, as far as in them lay, the temples and altars of the gods; diſſolved the government by diſobeying its laws; betrayed their country by making it barren. Having ended his ſpeech, he doubled the rewards and privileges of ſuch as had children, and laid a heavy fine on all unmarried perſons, by reviving the Popæan law.

THOUGH by this law all the males above a certain age were immediately obliged to marry under a ſevere penalty, Auguſtus allowed them the ſpace of a full year to comply with its demands. But ſuch was the

the backwardneſs to matrimony, and perverſity of the Roman knights, and others, that every poſſible method was taken to evade the penalty inflicted upon them, and ſome of them even married children in the cradle for that purpoſe. Thus fulfilling the letter, they avoided the ſpirit of the law, and though actually married, had no reſtraint upon their licentiouſneſs, nor any encumbrance by the expence of a family.

Such were the methods the Romans were obliged to make uſe of, in order to prevent matrimony from falling almoſt into diſuſe. Among other nations, ſcarcely any thing compulſatory has been attempted. It has generally been thought ſufficient, to ſtain with ſome degree of infamy and diſhonour, all kinds of illicit connection between the ſexes, to make the way to the enjoyment of lawful love as eaſy and acceſſible as poſſible, and to truſt the reſt to nature. In this laſt reſpect, the Engliſh legiſlature has acted contrary to the common opinion of mankind, and thrown a variety of obſtacles in the way that leads to matrimony. Obſtacles which have been loudly complained of, and which the houſe of commons

CHAP. XXVIII.

commons has attempted, but attempted in vain to remove; the bill which had paſſed in that houſe being negatived in the houſe of lords. Without much of the ſpirit of prophecy, we may, however, venture to predict, that the time will ſoon come, when the intereſt of the public will triumph over the pride of rank and opulence. By nature, all mankind are equal. The fiat of a crowned head creates an artificial diſtinction. Let that diſtinction be confined to operate on things that are artificial; good policy dictates, that it ſhould not be allowed to operate on thoſe that are natural.

Regulations which tend to encourage population.

As every regulation of the commerce between the ſexes is intended to promote population, ſo every wiſe legiſlature, not ſolely contented with encouraging, or even enforcing matrimony, has likewiſe endeavoured to correct all thoſe errors and abuſes which fruſtrate the main intention of it, and to oblige the ſexes to join themſelves together in ſuch a manner as might tend to the increaſe and multiplication of their ſpecies; thus the Jewiſh law forbad eunuchs to marry. Lycurgus enjoined the coupling together of ſuch men and women as were ſtrong and healthful,

healthful, and gave a liberty of profecuting ſuch men as did not marry at all, as deferred marrying till they were too old, or married improperly. Thus in Rome, it was ordained, that no woman under fifty ſhould marry a man above ſixty, and that no man above ſixty ſhould marry a woman who was not like himſelf far advanced in life. At Geneva, a woman of forty is not ſuffered to marry a man ten years younger than herſelf, if above forty, the man muſt not be more than five years younger; and when a man arrives at the age of ſixty, he is prohibited from marrying a woman who is under thirty. Laws of this kind, though pointed out by nature, and though evidently tending to promote the end and deſign of matrimony, are in other ſtates of the modern world, ſcarcely, if at all, attended to.

Conſanguinity, the degrees of it forbid to marry not accurately marked.

If what has been advanced by naturaliſts be true, that croſſing the breed, either of animals or vegetables, tends greatly to improve their ſtrength and vigour; then it will follow, that perhaps the ſame reaſons have prompted wiſe legiſlators, to interdict the marriages of near kindred with one another. Among the Jews, the degrees of conſanguinity, within

CHAP. XXVIII.

which it was lawful to marry, were accurately marked by the code of Moſes. Among other ancient nations the affair was ſubject to much variation. The Egyptians were allowed to marry their ſiſters. The Scythians not only to marry their ſiſters, but even their mothers and grandmothers. The Medes and Perſians married their own daughters and ſiſters; and among the Tartars, a man might marry his daughter, but a mother might not marry her ſon. Among the Huns, men, without the leaſt regard to conſanguinity, married whoever they pleaſed. Sons even married the widows of their fathers, a practice derived, perhaps, from remote antiquity; for Abſalom went in to the wives of his father David, when he rebelled againſt him. Among the Arabians, when a father left one or more widows, the ſons often married them, provided they were not their own mothers; and marrying the widow of a deceaſed brother is ſtill cuſtomary in ſome parts of Tartary. The Druſes of mount Libanus marry their own daughters. In Peru, the Inca, or king, was obliged to marry his eldeſt ſiſter; if he had no ſiſter, he was to marry his neareſt female relation. In Otaheite, their young king was deſigned as

as a huſband to his ſiſter, when ſhe became marriageable. At Athens, a man might marry the ſiſter of his father, but not of his mother. And in France, during the fifteenth century, the celebrated Count D'Armagnac was publicly married to his own ſiſter.

THE advantages ariſing from croſſing the breed of men, as well as other animals, in order to preſerve the ſpecies from degenerating, muſt have been the reſult of experience and obſervation: it would therefore be long before they were attended to; and hence, though Moſes, who was inſpired by the Divinity, appears to have been acquainted with them, the other nations, whom we have mentioned, were not; and, conſequently, long indulged themſelves in marrying as inclination, or convenience, dictated. But another political reaſon may be given, why the marriage of near kindred was prohibited. Before mankind were thoroughly civilized, and brought under the government of laws, families were frequently at war with one another; either on account of property, which was then unſettled, or from their natural inclination to rapine and plunder. In this ſtate, every acquiſition of

CHAP. XXVIII.

ſtrength to a family, was an addition to its ſecurity. Inſtead, therefore, of marrying in his own family, or among his own kindred, who were already in his intereſt, a man would, from motives of policy, rather wiſh to take a wife from a neighbouring family, and by that means bring it into an alliance with his, a circumſtance which would tend greatly to the ſecurity of both; and hence the practice of marrying kindred would fall into diſuſe. This conjecture ſeems ſtrongly ſupported by the practice of the ancient Germans; they did not allow a plurality of wives to any but their kings and chiefs, whom on the contrary they ſolicited to marry ſeveral, to connect them in friendſhip with the neighbouring potentates.

But beſides theſe, and other political reaſons that might be given againſt near kindred and relations intermarrying with each other, there are alſo natural reaſons that ſtrongly counteract ſuch alliances. The marriage of a father with his daughter would, in moſt caſes, be prepoſterous: as the huſband would generally be paſt the age of propagation long before his wife. The marriage of a ſon to his mother, beſides being

being liable to the ſame objection of inequality of age, would likewiſe confound the nature of things; as the ſon ought to have an unlimited reſpect for his mother, and the wife an unlimited reſpect for her huſband. But though ſimilar reaſons do not militate againſt the marriage of brothers and ſiſters with each other, yet nature herſelf ſeems here to have interpoſed her authority; ſhe ſeems not to have given to brothers and ſiſters, and other near relations, the ſame power of raiſing the paſſions and emotions of love in each other, as ſhe has given to thoſe who are leſs known, and nowiſe related. The emotions, which paſs between a brother and a ſiſter, are friendſhip; in the ſame circumſtances, between a young man and woman, not related to each other, they would be love.

With reſpect to the prohibitions, concerning the marriage of relations to each other, it is a thing extremely delicate to fix exactly the point at which the laws of nature ſtop. The greater part of civilized nations ſeem, in this reſpect, not to have differed widely from the directions of Moſes. The Chriſtian world has been entirely governed

CHAP. XXVIII.

verned by the rules of that lawgiver, except in ſome periods, when a ſpirit of greater libertiniſm broke through the reſtraint, or a ſpirit of miſtaken ſanctity extended it ſtill wider. In a council, held by pope Honorius, in the year 1126, marriages were proſcribed between all relations, till after the ſeventh generation; and all who married within that degree, were ordered to put away their wives. Innocent the III. reduced the ſeven generations down to four, and the reaſons he aſſigned for doing ſo, are a ſtriking picture of theſe times. "There are," ſaid he, "four elements, and four humours "in a man's body, therefore he ſhall not "marry till after the fourth generation." In the council of Trent, it was propoſed, to give liberty of marrying ſooner than after the fourth generation; but the propoſal was thrown out by a majority. Such were the laws impoſed by the Romiſh church upon mankind; but in theſe, and all other caſes, the head of it reſerved to himſelf a power of diſpenſing with them, and like the Engliſh, who allow nobody to abuſe their kings but themſelves, he and his clergy would not ſuffer any but themſelves to infringe the laws of the Pentateuch, or the Goſpel.

BESIDES

CHAP. XXVIII.

BESIDES the reſtrictions laid upon marriage by conſanguinity and politics, there are others ariſing from religion. By the ancient law of Britain, a Chriſtian of either ſex who married a Jew, was to be burnt, or buried alive. At Geneva, a marriage between a proteſtant and a Roman catholic, is null and void. And among the Turks, a Chriſtian is not to marry one of the diſciples of Mahomet, if he does, the puniſhment ordained by their law is, that the woman ſhall be drowned, and the man have the liberty of chuſing whether he will be impaled or turn Mahometan. There are others again, which ſeem to have ariſen ſolely from whim and caprice. Such were theſe of the ancient Egyptians; who holding ſwine in the utmoſt abhorrence, would neither allow a ſwineherd to enter into their temples, nor give their daughters to him in marriage. Such alſo are thoſe that Brama has impoſed on the Hindoos, whereby both the men and women of every particular caſt, are prohibited from marrying into any other caſt. Such are theſe, which, in many periods and countries, have been laid upon the clergy, while the Iraelitiſh laity were at liberty to marry whom they pleaſed, the prieſts were prohibited

CHAP. XXVIII.

bited from marrying a woman that was a whore, or that had been put away from her husband; or, in short, any other but a virgin. After the introduction of the christian religion, the clergy were in marriage restricted by almost the same laws as those of Moses; and if the wife of a clergyman, particularly of a bishop, died before him, he was never allowed to take another. In process of time it became unlawful, according to the canons of the church, for a clergyman to marry upon any pretence whatever; a scheme which, as we shall see afterward, was the source of much wrangling among the priests, and of much mischief to society.

But the restrictions we have now mentioned, are not all that are to be met with in history; the sultans of the Turkish empire, though the most absolute monarchs in the universe, have never been allowed to marry since the time of Bajazet, who, with all his wives, being made prisoners by Tamerlane, the haughty victor shut Bajazet up in an iron cage, made his wives menial servants, and obliged them to wait naked on their conqueror. An accident which reflected so much

much disgrace on the Ottoman empire, that to prevent any such from happening in time to come, the princes of that empire have never been suffered to marry, that it might never be in the power of any person to abuse their wives. But though they do not marry, they have constantly a number of women in their seraglios, and the children they have by them are all legitimate. We have already observed that the Popes have always arrogated to themselves a power of dispensing with the laws of consanguinity, but they did not stop there; when it was conducive to their interest that particular persons should remain single, they prohibited them the liberty of marrying. If no regard was paid to the prohibition, they declared the marriage null and void, and the children illegitimate. An order of this kind was sent by Paul the IV. to Joan of Arragon, forbidding her to allow any of her daughters to marry, unless he should provide them with husbands.

Idea of marriage ceremonies.

In countries little civilized, and where the sex, from the cradle to the grave, are slaves to their parents, relations, or husbands, the marriage ceremonies are for the

CHAP. XXVIII.

moſt part ſomeway expreſſive of that abject condition. There are, however, many exceptions to this general rule, and the marriage ceremonies in ſome countries ſeem to have been contrived with no other view, than to make the marriage publicly known, by exhibiting ſome pompous rites in the preſence of a great number of witneſſes.

Expreſſive of what the parties are to expect from each other.

OVER the greater part of Europe, and in countries peopled by European colonies, the marriage ceremony expreſſes the duty of the parties, the intereſt they ſhould have in view, and the regard they ought to have for the happineſs of each other. And the general laws of the country, as well as the particular ſtipulations of the matrimonial bargain, take care of the freedom and immunities of the woman, and will neither ſuffer her perſon nor property to be abuſed by the arbitrary will of a huſband*. We have already ſeen, that among the Jews, and other ancient nations, the laws ſecuring

* The Ruſſians were formerly accuſtomed to uſe their wives with the moſt relentleſs ſeverity; to remedy which, the huſband has of late ſubjected himſelf, by his marriage contract, to certain penalties if he uſed his wife ill, either by manual correction, whipping, boxing, kicking, or ſcratching.

either the perſons or property of married women were but few and weak, and that both were too much left in the mercy of their huſbands. The ſame matrimonial powers are veſted in the huſbands of the Eaſt at this day. The ſubjects of the Mogul, who marry as many women as they pleaſe, have their wives of ſeveral different ranks, and may advance any of them to one of the higher ranks, or degrade them to one of the lower at pleaſure. In Ruſſia, it was formerly a part of the marriage ceremony for the bride to preſent the bridegroom with a whip, made with her own hands, in token of ſubjection. Among the ſavages of Canada, a ſtrap, a kettle, and a faggot, are put into the bride's apartment as ſymbols of her ſubmiſſion and ſlavery. On the coaſt of Guinea, the bride ſolemnly vows love and conſtancy, whatever uſage or returns ſhe may meet with from her huſband, Among the Tonquineſe, when the bride arrives at the houſe of the bridegroom, ſhe immediately goes into the kitchen, proſtrates herſelf on the floor, and kiſſes the hearth. In Bornea, Sumetra, and Java, ſhe waits at the door with a pitcher of water, and on the arrival of the bridegroom waſhes his feet. To theſe inſtances we might add

CHAP. XXVIII.

many others, where the marriage ceremonies are expreſſive of the humble condition of the wife; but we leave the ungrateful taſk, and proceed to take notice of ſome of thoſe, where, on the part of the bridegroom, they expreſs his acknowledgment of having attained ſomething which he eſteems, values, and wiſhes to cheriſh and protect.

Ceremonies which ſhew the regard of the men to their wives.

THE cuſtoms we have juſt now related, are only to be met with among ſavages, or ſuch as are but a few degrees removed from that ſtate. Thoſe we now proceed to, mark a people either conſiderably removed from ferocity of manners, or far advanced in cultivation and politeneſs. Among the ancient Peruvians, the bridegroom carried a pair of ſhoes to the bride, and put them upon her feet with his own hands. At Laos, the marriage ceremony is not only rational, but expreſſive of the value the bridegroom has for his bride; their mutual engagements are atteſted by two witneſſes, ſelected from among thoſe who have lived the longeſt and moſt lovingly together. In Siam, the bridegroom makes a preſent of betel to his bride, in the moſt reſpectful manner. In Lapland, ſhe is preſented with brandy, rein-deer, and

and trinkets. In countries more civilized, a dower is ſettled upon her, and preſents made her on her going home to the houſe of her huſband, In England, ſhe is treated with every circumſtance of honour and reſpect, and the words of the marriage ceremony are carried to the moſt fooliſh and unmeaning length; "With my body I thee "worſhip, and with my worldly goods I "thee endow." Much more ſimple, and at the ſame time more ſenſible, were the marriage ceremonies of the inhabitants of Ceylon, where the prieſt tied the thumbs of the parties together, or wrapt them both in one garment: and of ancient Mexico, where the parties, with their relations, being aſſembled in the temple, a prieſt tied their garments together, and under this nuptial bond they returned to their habitation, preſenting themſelves before their houſehold gods, to ſhew them, as well as the deities which reſided in the temple, that they had bound themſelves to each other through all the proſperous and adverſe circumſtances of life.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Ceremonies which ſerve only to make the marriage public

BUT beſides theſe ceremonies of marriage, which ſeem plainly to be expreſſive of the low or the high condition of women, there are others which have no regard to either, and ſeem only calculated to give a public notoriety and firmneſs to the compact. Such is that ſaid to have been anciently practiſed in Canada, where the bride and bridegroom held a rod between them, while the old men pronounced certain prayers over them, after which they broke the rod into as many pieces as there were witneſſes; then each taking a piece, carried it home, and depoſited it as a teſtimony of the marriage that had happened. Such is the ceremony of tying the garments publicly together. And ſuch are thoſe of inviting friends and neighbours to feaſt, and to ſee a ſolemn engagement of the parties. As the natural modeſty of the ſex always ſuppoſes that a woman ſhall with ſome reluctance ſubmit to the loſs of her virginity, the marriage ceremony is frequently expreſſive of this reluctance. In ſome countries the bride hides herſelf. In others, ſhe muſt ſeemingly be ſought for. In others, the ceremony muſt be performed while ſhe is covered with a veil, or under a canopy to

ſave

ſave her bluſhes. But what ſeems more extraordinary, there are inſtances where the man is ſeemingly to be forced to accept of what almoſt in all countries he eagerly ſeeks after. In a province of Old Mexico, the bridegroom was carried off by his relations, that it might be thought he was forced into the ſtate of wedlock, a ſtate ſo perplexed with thorns and cares. In almoſt all countries, the day of marriage is dedicated to mirth and feſtivity, and every thing that can cloud the brow, or damp the general joy, is carefully avoided. In Muſcovy, however, the caſe was different; they crowned the young couple with wormwood, as an emblem of the bitterneſs of theſe anxieties and cares upon which they were entering.

Improvement of the breed neglected in match-making.

If the laws which we have formerly mentioned, forbidding the marriage of near relations with each other, originated from the political view of preſerving the human race from degeneracy, they are the only laws we meet with on that ſubject, and exert almoſt the only care we find taken of ſo important a matter. The Siomeſe is careful to improve the breed of his elephants, the Arabian of his horſes, and the Laplander of his rein-

deer,

CHAP. XXVIII.

deer. The Engliſhman, eager to have ſwift horſes, ſtaunch dogs, and victorious cocks, grudges no care, and ſpares no expence, to have the males and females matched properly. But ſince the days of Solon, where is the legiſlator, or ſince the times of the ancient Greeks, where are the private perſons, who take any care to improve, or even to keep from degeneracy the breed of their own ſpecies? The Engliſhman who ſolicitouſly attends the training of his colts and puppies, would be aſhamed to be caught in the nurſery; and while no motive could prevail upon him to breed horſes or hounds from an improper or contaminated kind, he will calmly, or rather inconſiderately, match himſelf with the moſt decrepid or diſeaſed of the human ſpecies; thoughtleſs of the weakneſſes and evils he is going to entail on poſterity, and conſidering nothing but the acquiſition of fortune he is by her alliance to convey to an offspring, who, by diſeaſes, will be rendered unable to uſe it. The Muſcovites were formerly the only people, beſides the Greeks, who paid a proper attention to this ſubject. After the preliminaries of a marriage were ſettled between the parents of a young couple, the bride was ſtript naked,

naked, and carefully examined by a jury of matrons, who if they found any bodily defect, endeavoured to cure it; but if it would admit of no remedy, the match was broke off, and she was considered not only as an improper subject to breed from, but improper also for maintaining the affections of a husband, after he had discovered the imposition she had put upon him.

In England, the marriage ceremony is not to be performed but in the church, and between the hours of eight and twelve o'clock in the forenoon. In Scotland, this is deemed incompatible with morality and sound policy, as it hinders the valetudinarian from doing all the justice in his power to the mistress he has lived with and debauched. He may therefore marry her at any hour, or in any place, and by that marriage legitimate all the children he has by her, whether they be present at the marriage or not.

Left-handed wives in Prussia, what.

In Prussia, though their code of laws seems in general to be as reasonable, and as consistent with sound policy, as any in Europe, yet we still find in it, an allowance

CHAP. XXVIII.

given for a ſpecies of that concubinage, which has long ſince been expelled from almoſt all the weſtern world. A man may there marry what is called a left-handed wife, to whom he is married for life, and by the common ceremony*; but with this expreſs agreement, that neither ſhe nor her children ſhall live in the houſe of her huſband, nor ſhall take his name, nor bear his arms, nor claim any dower or donation uſually claimed by every other wife, nor diſpoſe of any part of his property, exert any authority over his ſervants, nor ſucceed to his eſtates or his titles; but ſhall be contented with what was agreed on for their ſubſiſtence during his life, and with what he ſhall give them at his death. This privilege, however, is always in the power of the king to deny, and is ſeldom granted to any but ſuch of the nobility as being left with large families, from the ſmallneſs of their fortunes cannot afford to marry another legal wife, and rear up another family of the ſame rank with themſelves.

* The only difference in the ceremony is, the bridegroom gives her his left hand inſtead of his right.

THOUGH

CHAP. XXVIII.

THOUGH the laws of almoſt every civilized country have required the conſent of parents to the marriage of their children, yet when ſuch children marry without it, the evil is conſidered as incapable of any remedy. The Pruſſian law, however, thinks otherwiſe; and in this caſe gives the parents a power of applying to the conſiſtory, which ſeparates the parties, obliges the man to give the woman a portion for the loſs of her virginity, and contribute to the maintenance and education of the child or children of the marriage. Promiſes of marriage to a woman, have, in all well-regulated ſtates, been conſidered as ſacred, and the breach of them puniſhed by a variety of methods. But the Pruſſian law proceeds in a different manner; it does not endeavour ſo much to puniſh the breach of the promiſe, as to enforce the performance, by the admonitions of religion, by impriſonment, by a fine of half the man's fortune, or a certain part of what he earns by his daily labour; or if he runs away to avoid the marriage, by marrying the woman to him by proxy, and allowing her a maintenance out of his effects.

CHAP. XXVIII.

We ſhall now take our leave of the ſubject of matrimony with a few obſervations on the cauſes of the diſcord and uneaſineſs, which frequently diſturb the happineſs of that ſtate. If the ſatirical writers and declaimers of the preſent age may be credited, married women have in general arrived at ſuch a pitch of debauchery, that few marriages are tolerably happy, and fewer huſbands without the inviſible marks of a cuckold. We do not pretend to juſtify all the wives of the preſent times; but on comparing them with thoſe of the paſt, we find the ſame clamours have always exiſted againſt them; and without pretending to any ſpirit of prophecy, we may venture to affirm, that they will exiſt ſo long at leaſt as marriages are contracted ſolely with a view to the intereſt of the parties, without conſidering whether they are poſſeſſed of any of the qualifications neceſſary to render each other happy; a ſcheme by which, tempers the moſt diſcordant are frequently joined together, though neither of them are ſo bad, but they might have made good huſbands and wives, if they had been matched with propriety.

CHAP. XXVIII.

But this is far from being the only reaſon to which we attribute many of the unhappy marriages of this country. The baſis of them is laid and eſtabliſhed in the education of our young women, as well as in the manners and cuſtoms of our young men. Young women, inſtead of being taught to mix the agreeable with the uſeful, are early inſtructed to cultivate only the former, and to conſider the latter as fit for none but maiden aunts, and other antiquated monitors. But this is not all, flattered by the men from their earlieſt infancy, they are never acquainted with the voice of truth, nor with that plain dealing which muſt unavoidably take place in the married ſtate. Conſtantly accuſtomed to ſee a lover accoſt them with the moſt ſubmiſſive air, to find him yield every point, and conform himſelf entirely to their will; they conſider themſelves as oracles of wiſdom, always in the right. Taught to form their ideas of the huſband, only from thoſe of the lover, and the ridiculous notions imbibed from romances; they enter into the married ſtate fully convinced, that every huſband is through life to play the lover, and that every lover is the romantic being depicted in

CHAP. XXVIII.

in the novels which they have read,—Ideal fancies and dreams, which muſt ſoon vaniſh in diſappointment. Nor do the men act more wiſely. Blinded for the moſt part by love, they conſider the object of their paſſion as all perfection and excellence; and when they come to be undeceived, as every lover ſoon muſt, remorſe and chagrin ſour their tempers, and make them incapable of forgiving the cheat they think impoſed upon them, or behaving with that degree of gentleneſs with which the ſtronger ſex ſhould regard the foibles, and even ſome of the follies of the weaker.

EVERY one who has been attentive to what paſſes in other nations, and to what happens here, before and after marriage, muſt readily acknowledge, that nothing can be more certain than the truth of the old ſaying, Too much familiarity breeds contempt. In order to inſpire and preſerve reſpect, it is neceſſary for kings and other great men to wear enſigns of grandeur, and to be attended with guards. For judges to be arrayed in the ſymbols of ſolemnity and wiſdom, and for learned men never to be too free in opening the depth of their knowledge.

The

The caſe is exactly the ſame, with women, and they ſeem ſenſible of it before marriage, but inſenſible of it afterward. Before marriage, we are ſeldom permitted to ſee them but in their gay and ſplendid dreſs, and in their moſt chearful and lively humour. We enter not into the penetralium of their weakneſſes. We diſcover none of their faults, and but few of their foibles: but after their marriage, they precipitately throw aſide the maſk, in ſuch a manner as to diſcover that they wore it only for conveniency. And an intimacy with them opens to the huſband, views which could not poſſibly fall within the inſpection of the lover; hence his ideas of the ſame woman, when his miſtreſs and his wife, are ſo widely different.

In endeavouring to explore the ſcources of conjugal infelicity, we may likewiſe obſerve, that few men have ſo ſucceſfully ſtudied the temper of women, as to be able to manage it to the beſt advantage. It has long been an obſervation of the fair, that a reformed rake makes the beſt huſband; and we have known inſtances where women after having made but indifferent wives to

men

CHAP. XXVIII.

men of probity and virtue, who ſeldom committed any faults, have afterwards made much better ones to rakiſh young fellows, whoſe whole lives conſiſted in ſinning and repenting. The reaſon is plain; ſuch is the temper of women, that a little well-timed flattery and ſubmiſſion will ſeldom fail of putting them into good humour; whereas the moſt faultleſs and prudent conduct cannot always keep them in it. A woman by the aſſiſtance of a few tender careſſes, and proteſtations of future amendment, will frequently be prevailed on to forgive ten thouſand faults, if ſhe is perſuaded that her huſband loves her in the intervals of his folly; but ſhe will never forgive indifference, nor contempt. Hence many of the moſt learned and ſenſible men are reckoned the worſt huſbands, becauſe they frequently have more friendſhip than love, and more of both than they expreſs; and many of the moſt wild and rakiſh reckoned the beſt, becauſe they have more love than friendſhip, and expreſs more of both than they feel.

THESE, and ſeveral others too tedious to mention in ſketches of this nature, ſeem to be

be the ſcources from which matrimonial infelicity ſo often ariſes; but would the parties come together with leſs exalted notions of each other; would they lay their account with finding in each other a mixture of human weakneſſes as well as perfections; and would they mutually forgive faults and weakneſſes, matrimony would not be ſo incumbered with evils, nor ſo diſturbed with ſtrife. It is the ox that frets who galls his own neck and that of his fellow with the yoke, while the pair who draw quietly and equally, ſcarcely feel it inconvenient or troubleſome.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Celibacy.

CHAP. XXIX.

Oppoſitions made to matrimony.

WE flatter ourſelves it will not be conſidered as an improper appendix to the hiſtory of matrimony, to give a ſhort view of the oppoſitions that have been made to it; oppoſitions which have ariſen chiefly on pretence of religion, but which, when thoroughly examined, will, we perſuade ourſelves, appear to have been founded on a very different motive. The two ſexes were evidently intended for each other, and "increaſe and multiply" was the firſt great command given them by the Author of nature; but ſuppoſe no ſuch command had been given, how it firſt entered into the mind of man, that the propagation or continuation of the ſpecies was criminal in the eye of Heaven, is not eaſy to conceive. Ridiculous, however, as this notion may appear, it is one of thoſe which early inſinuated itſelf among mankind; and plainly demonſtrated, that reaſoning beings are the moſt apt to deviate from nature. and diſobey her plaineſt dictates.

CHAP. XXIX.

As the appetite towards the other ſex is one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ungovernable in our nature. As it intrudes itſelf more than any other into our thoughts, and frequently diverts them from every other purpoſe or employment; it may, at firſt, on this account, have been reckoned criminal when it interfered with worſhip and devotion; and even emaſculation may have been introduced in order to get rid of it. But however this be, it is certain, that there were men of various religions, who made themſelves incapable of procreation on a religious account. The prieſts of Cybele conſtantly caſtrated themſelves. And our Saviour ſays, there are eunuchs who make themſelves ſuch for the kingdom of heaven's ſake. Such were the methods ſometimes uſed by the men, to render themſelves uncapable of yielding to a temptation which they had not the power of reſiſting; while the women, even of the warmer climates of Aſia, boaſting of a ſuperior fortitude and reſolution, courted temptation as the warrior does the poſt of danger, that they might ſhew their ſtrength in repelling it. They permitted in the earlier ages of chriſtianity, prieſts and deacons to ſhare their bed; and ſo ſituated,

CHAP. XXIX.

gloried not only in the unfullied purity of their bodies, but of their minds.

HOWEVER abſurd it may appear to reaſon and to philoſophy, it is certainly a fact, that religioniſts of various kinds had early got an idea, that the propagation of their ſpecies was, if not criminal, at leaſt derogatory to their ſacred function. Thus the prieſts of ancient Egypt were obliged, by the rules of their order, to abſtain from women, though in after periods they were allowed one wife. The prieſts of the Myſians likewiſe bound themſelves to celibacy; and thoſe of the Romiſh church, in times more enlightened by reaſon, ſtill follow the unnatural example. As if Heaven were pleaſed with every means of preſerving the individual, and diſpleaſed with the means of continuing the ſpecies.

Origin of celibacy.

BUT beſides the prieſthood, ſeveral other religious orders of both ſexes, ſprung up, who vainly imagined to conciliate the favour of the Author of nature, by diſcontinuing his works. The Egyptians and ancient Indians had communities of Cenobites, who are ſuppoſed to have lived in celibacy.

celibacy. Strabo mentions a ſect among the Thracians, that vowed perpetual abſtinence from women, and were on that account revered for their ſanctity. The Eſſenes, among the Jews, laid themſelves under the ſame obligation. The Romans had their veſtal virgins, who kept the ſacred fire in the temple of the goddeſs of chaſtity, and were buried alive if they proved incontinent. The Peruvians had their virgins of the Sun, who were brought up in the temple of that luminary, and obliged to the ſtricteſt virginity, under the ſame penalty as the veſtals among the Romans. Friga, the goddeſs of the ancient Scandanivians, had alſo a temple where her oracles and a ſacred fire were kept, by propheteſſes devoted to perpetual virginity. Some tribes of the ancient Indians reckoned virginity endowed with ſuch a power, that their moſt approved remedies were uſeleſs and unavailing, unleſs adminiſtered by the hand of a virgin; and the general opinion during ſome of the middle ages, ſeems to have been, that the mode of human propagation was one of the curſes brought on the world in conſequence of Adam's tranſgreſſion; and that if he had preſerved his innocence, he would have lived

CHAP. XXIX.

lived in a ſtate of virgin purity, and have peopled paradiſe in a manner ſimilar to the vegetables, with a race of happy and immortal beings.

SOON after the introduction of chriſtianity, St. Mark is ſaid to have founded a ſociety called *Therapeutes*, who dwelt by the lake Moeris in Egypt, and devoted themſelves to ſolitude and religious offices. About the year 305 of the chriſtian computation, St. Anthony being perſecuted by Dioclefian, retired into the deſert near the lake Moeris; numbers of people ſoon following his example, joined themſelves to the Therapeutes; St. Anthony being placed as their head, and improving upon their rules, firſt formed them into regular monaſteries, and enjoined them to live in mortification and chaſtity. About the ſame time, or ſoon after, St. Synclitica, reſolving not to be behind St. Anthony in her zeal for chaſtity, is generally believed to have collected together a number of enthuſiaſtic females, and to have founded the firſt nunnery for their reception. Some imagine the ſcheme of celibacy was concerted between St. Anthony and St. Synclitica, as St. Anthony, on his firſt

first retiring into solitude, is said to have put his sister into a nunnery, which must have been that of St. Synclitica; but however this be, from their first institution, monks and nuns increased so fast, that in the city of Orixa, about seventeen years after the death of St. Anthony, there were found twenty thousand virgins devoted to perpetual virginity.

Clergy forbid to marry.

Such at this time was the rage of celibacy; a rage which, however unnatural, will cease to excite our wonder, when we consider, that it was accounted by both sexes the sure and only infallible road to heaven and eternal happiness. As such, it behoved the church vigorously to maintain and countenance it, which she did by beginning about this time to deny the liberty of marriage to her sons. In the first council of Nice, held soon after the introduction of christianity, the celibacy of the clergy was strenuously argued for, and some think that even in an earlier period it had been the subject of debate. However this be, it was not agreed to in the council of Nice, though about the end of the fourth century it is said that Syricus, bishop of Rome, enacted the first decree

CHAP. XXIX.

decree againſt the marriage of monks. A decree which was not univerſally received: for, ſeveral centuries after, we find that it was not uncommon for clergymen to have wives. Even the popes were allowed this liberty, as it is ſaid in ſome of the old ſtatutes of the church, That it is lawful for the pope to marry a virgin for the ſake of having children. So exceedingly difficult is it to combat againſt nature, that little regard ſeems to have been paid to this decree of Syricus; for we are informed, that ſeveral centuries after, it was no uncommon thing for the clergy to have wives, and perhaps even a plurality of them; as we find it among the ordonnances of pope Sylveſter, that every prieſt ſhould be the huſband of one wife only; and Pius the II. affirmed, that though many ſtrong reaſons might be adduced in ſupport of the celibacy of the clergy, there were ſtill ſtronger reaſons againſt it.

In the year 400, it was decreed in a council, that ſuch of the clergy as had faithful wives ſhould not entertain concubines, but that ſuch as either had no wives, or were joined to unfaithful ones, might do as they pleaſed.

pleaſed. In the year 441, it was decreed, that prieſts and deacons ſhould either abſtain from marriage, or be degraded from their office. This law ſeems afterward to have been a little relaxed; for in the year 572 one of the canons of the council of Lucenſe ſays, when a deacon is elected, and declares that he has not the gift of chaſtity, he ſhall not be ordained; but if he ſays nothing, is ordained, and afterwards deſires to marry, he ſhall be ſet aſide from the miniſtry; and if a ſubdeacon take a wife, he may be a reader or a doorkeeper, but he ſhall not read the apoſtles. In the year 633, it was ordained, That prieſts ſhould live chaſte, having clean bodies and pure minds: and the ſame council, as if it had been to ſhew how ill their ſtatutes were obſerved, ordained alſo, That ſuch clergy as had married widows, wives divorced from their huſbands, or common whores, ſhould be ſeparated from them. In the year 743, all the canons againſt marriage ſeem to have been totally diſregarded, as we find, that even thoſe who were bigamiſts, or had married widows, might be promoted to ſacred orders. In the year 1126, the notion of enforcing celibacy

CHAP. XXIX.

ſeems again to have prevailed; for in a ſynod held by pope Honorius, all the clergy are ſtrictly forbid to have wives, and ordered to be degraded from their office if they diſobeyed the mandate, a mandate which was renewed in the year following, with ſome additional threatenings annexed to it; and ſo warm were the fathers of the church in their invectives againſt matrimony, that ſome of them rendered themſelves ridiculous by their intemperate zeal. St. Jerom expreſsly declares, that the end of matrimony is *eternal death*, that the earth is indeed filled by it, but heaven by virginity. Edward the Confeſſor was ſainted only for abſtaining from the conjugal embrace; and many of the primitive chriſtians, fully perſuaded that every ſpecies of the carnal appetite was inconſiſtent with pure religion, lived with a wife as they would have done with a ſiſter. Jovinian was baniſhed in the fourth century by the emperor Honorius, for maintaining, that a man who cohabited with his wife might be ſaved, provided he obſerved the laws of piety and virtue laid down in the goſpel. In the year 1563, it was almoſt unanimouſly voted at the council of Trent, that married men

men ſhould not be promoted to prieſts orders, that the dignity of the church be not impaired. CHAP. XXIX.

THE firſt canons againſt marriage were, it is ſaid, only received in Italy and France, a proof that the inhabitants of theſe countries were either leſs ſenſible, or leſs tenacious of the rights of mankind, than their neighbours. When, or by whom the celibacy of the clergy was firſt introduced into England is not perfectly agreed upon; ſome ſuppoſing it was St. Dunſtan, who, with the conſent of king Edgar, firſt propoſed to, and preſſed the married clergy to put away their wives, which all thoſe that refuſed to do were depoſed, and monks put into their livings. Theſe monks, whoſe invention was always fruitful in ſtories to advance their own intereſt, gave out, that all the married clergy who diſobeyed the order of the ſaint were, with their wives and children, transformed into eels; and, as many of them reſided in the iſle, now called Ely, it is ſaid to have taken its name from that circumſtance.

CHAP. XXIX.

At a ſynod held at Wincheſter under the ſame St. Dunſtan, the monks farther averred, that ſo highly criminal was it for a prieſt to marry, that even a wooden croſs had audibly declared againſt the horrid practice. Others place the firſt attempt againſt the marriage of the clergy to the account of Alefrick, archbiſhop of Canterbury, about the beginning of the eleventh century; however this be, we have among the canons a decree of the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, ordaining, That all the miniſters of God, eſpecially prieſts, ſhould obſerve chaſtity, and not take wives. And in the year 1076 there was a council aſſembled at Wincheſter, under Lanfranc, which decreed, That no canon ſhould have a wife. That ſuch prieſts as lived in caſtles and villages ſhould not be obliged to put their wives away, but that ſuch as had none ſhould not be allowed to marry; and that biſhops ſhould neither ordain prieſts nor deacons, unleſs they previouſly declared that they were not married. In the year 1102, archbiſhop Anſelm held a council at Weſtminſter, where it was decreed, That no archdeacon, prieſt, deacon, or canon, ſhould either marry a wife, or retain

retain her if he had one. Anſelm, to give this decree the greater weight, deſired of the king, that the principle men of the kingdom might be preſent at the council, and that the decree might be enforced by the joint conſent both of the clergy and laity; the king conſented, and to theſe canons the whole realm gave a general ſanction. The clergy of the province of York, however, remonſtrated againſt them, and refuſed to put away their wives. The unmarried refuſed alſo to oblige themſelves to continue in that ſtate; nor were the clergy of Canterbury much more tractable.

About two years afterward, Anſelm called a new council at London in the preſence of the king and barons, where canons ſtill ſeverer than the former were enacted. Thoſe who had taken women ſince the former prohibition were enjoined to diſmiſs them ſo entirely, as not to be knowingly in the ſame houſe with them; and any eccleſiaſtic accuſed of this tranſgreſſion, by two or more witneſſes, was, if a prieſt, to purge himſelf by ſix witneſſes; if a deacon, by four; if a ſubdeacon, by two; otherwiſe to be deemed guilty. Prieſts, archdeacons,

CHAP. XXIX.

archdeacons, or canons, refuſing to part with their women, here ſtyled *adulterous concubines*, were to be deprived of their livings, put out of the choir, and declared infamous, and the biſhop had authority to take away all their moveable goods, as well as thoſe of their women. This law, highly unjuſt and ſevere, was ſtill more ſo in France; for at a council held at Lyons in the year 1042, a power was given to the barons to make ſlaves of all the children of the married clergy. As the Engliſh clergy were ſtill very refractory, in the year 1125, cardinal Crema, the pope's legate, preſiding in a council held at Weſtminſter, with a view to enforce the papal authority, made a long and inveterate ſpeech againſt the horrid ſin of matrimony, in which he declared, that it was the higheſt degree of wickedneſs to riſe from the ſide of a woman, and make the body of Chriſt. But unluckily for the poor cardinal, he was himſelf that ſame evening caught by the Conſtable, in the very ſituation he had painted as ſo ſinful, and the ſhame of it ſoon drove him out of England.

In

CHAP. XXIX.

In the year 1129, the archbiſhop of Canterbury being legate, a council was called at London, to which all the clergy of England were ſummoned; here it was enacted, That all who had wives ſhould put them away before the next feaſt of St. Andrew, under pain of deprivation. The execution of this decree was left to the king; who took money of ſeveral prieſts, by way of commutation, and ſo the intention of the decree was fruſtrated. Many of the clergy now finding a heavy fine impoſed on them, for keeping a lawful wife, and none for a concubine,* choſe the latter, by which means their lives became ſo openly ſcandalous, that about forty-ſix years after, in the reign of Henry the Second, Richard archbiſhop of Canterbury, in a ſynod held at Weſtminſter, prohibited all who were in holy orders, from keeping concubines, as well as from marrying. The like prohibition was iſſued afterward, in a ſynod held at York, by Herbert archbiſhop of Canter-

* Some of the fathers in the council of Trent declared, that even the concubines of prieſts were of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and as well as the prieſts themſelves, entirely exempted from the power of the civil magiſtrate.

bury,

CHAP. XXIX.

bury, and chief juſtice of England. In the ninth year of Henry the Third, Stephen Langton revived theſe decrees; and added, That prieſts keeping concubines, ſhould not be admitted to the ſacraments, nor their concubines allowed chriſtian burial. But in ſpite of all theſe efforts, many of the clergy ſtill retained their wives, concubines, and benefices, till cardinal Otho ſome time after made a poſitive decree, declaring, That the wives and children of ſuch prieſts ſhould have no benefit from the eſtates of their huſbands and fathers; and that ſuch eſtates ſhould be veſted in the church. This, as it cut off the widows and children of the clergy from all means of ſubſiſtence, and turned them beggars into the world, had a more powerful effect than all the cenſures and thunders of the church; and at laſt gave the fatal blow to a right which the clergy had ſtruggled to maintain for many centuries. From this time they ſeem quietly to have ſubmitted to the reſtraint, till the Reformation reſtored to them again the rights of mankind, which had been violently taken from them.

CHAP. XXIX.

In this manner did things continue till the reign of Henry the Eighth, when dispensations to keep concubines were sold to such priests as were able to purchase them. But lest this should be a bad example to the people, they were enjoined to keep them privately, and never to go publicly to them on account of scandal. Some years after, a temporal law was added to the spiritual, declaring it felony for a priest to marry; or if married, to have any commerce with his wife; or even so much as to converse with her; or for any person to preach or affirm, that it was lawful for a priest to marry. This law was repealed the following year, though the canons of the church were still in force, and continued so till the time of Edward the Sixth; when the authority of the see of Rome being thrown off, an act was made, by which the marriages of the clergy were declared lawful, and their children legitimate. Queen Mary, in the first year of her reign, repealed this act; and in this state things continued during the reign of queen Elizabeth, who, by a letter directed to all the heads of colleges and cathedral churches, expressly prohibits them from having any wives or women of any

CHAP. XXIX.

kind among them. The mandate runs thus: "We therefore expreſsly will and command, "that no manner of perſon, being either the "head or member of any college or ca- "thedral church within this realm, ſhall, "from the time of the notification hereof, "have, or be permitted to have, within the "precinct of every ſuch college, his wife "or other woman to abide and dwell in the "ſame, or to frequent and haunt any lodg- "ing within the ſame college, upon pain, "that whoſoever ſhall do the contrary, ſhall "forfeit all eccleſiaſtical promotion, in any "cathedral or collegiate church within this "realm." But in the firſt year of James the Firſt, an act was again made, reſtoring to the clergy the rights of nature, and of citizens; and the act remains in force at this day.

Conjectures on the celibacy of the clergy.

In this conteſt we have ſeen a long and ſevere ſtruggle, between one part of the clergy, contending for the authority of the church, and another part, contending for the rights of nature. But why this authority of the church, and the rights of nature, ſhould be ſo oppoſite to each other, is a point involved in much obſcurity. It has been alleged, that the

reaſon why the church enjoined celibacy, was, that the clergy having no legitimate offſpring, might turn their whole attention to enrich and aggrandize that community only of which they were members. This, however, does not appear to be well founded; for illegitimate children may engroſs the attention of parents, and engage them as ſtrongly in providing for them, as legitimate ones; a circumſtance which has frequently appeared in the conduct of the ſovereign pontiffs; and yet the church has at moſt but weakly exerted herſelf in preventing the clergy from having children of this kind.

In the human breaſt there is not a paſſion ſo natural, ſo prevalent, as that which attaches us to the fair ſex. The Romiſh clergy are ſons of nature; they are endowed with the ſame paſſions, and ſuſceptible of the ſame feelings, as the reſt of her children. How then they ſhould voluntarily give up the gratification of theſe paſſions, the pleaſure ariſing from theſe feelings, if they really do give them up, ſeems altogether unaccountable; but if we conſider it only as a fineſſe, we may gueſs at the motives which induce them to it.

CHAP. XXIX.

In all countries, and at all periods, the clergy, rather wiſer and more cunning than the reſt of mankind, have arrogated and ſecured to themſelves privileges which were denied to all others. The Romiſh clergy, no doubt, conſidered the enjoyment of the fair ſex as every ſon of nature conſiders it; but then, in the way of matrimony, this enjoyment was attended with many inconveniences and diſadvantages, which they were willing to avoid. They therefore pretended, that perſons ſo ſacred, were forbid to enter into matrimony; but at the ſame time they reſolved to enjoy all the pleaſures ariſing from it, without the expence of a family, or the chance of being tied to a diſagreeable partner. To effect this it was neceſſary, firſt, to have acceſs to every woman in private. Secondly, to get into all the ſecrets of the ſex. And, thirdly, to have places appropriated, where none but them and prieſts ſhould ever be ſuffered to enter. In the celibacy of the clergy we may, therefore, perceive the origin of auricular confeſſion; a ſcheme well calculated to promote their licentious purpoſes, as it obliged all the women, under pain of eternal damnation, to diſcover every ſecret; and not contented with

with denouncing damnation againſt her who concealed any thing, it promiſed abſolution, in the moſt full and ample manner, to her who left nothing undiſcovered. Thus threatened with the greateſt of evils, on the one hand, and ſo eaſy a method of eſcaping it, even after every criminal indulgence, held out on the other, is there any wonder that women were frequently prevailed upon to diſcover even thoſe ſecrets which the ſex moſt cautiouſly of all others conceal. When women had confeſſed themſelves guilty of one or more faults of this kind, it was natural to think, that, without great difficulty, they might be prevailed upon to repeat them; thus the crafty ſons of the church were led to diſcover where they might make their attacks with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs; and they knew alſo, that if gentle methods ſhould fail, they could, in a manner, force compliance, by threatening to publiſh the former faults of their penitents.

HAVING, by theſe ſchemes, ſecured admittance to all the women, and become poſſeſſed of all their ſecrets, the next ſtep was to prevent interruption, when in private with

CHAP. XXIX.

with them. This was eaſily accompliſhed; they had only to denounce the vengeance of heaven againſt the daring miſcreant, whether huſband, father, or lover, who ſhould ſacrilegiouſly diſturb a holy letcher, while confeſſing his penitent. Thus, being poſſeſſed of all the ſecrets of the ſex, ſecured in the moſt inviolable privacy, with nature and the paſſions on their ſide, and pardon and remiſſion in their power; is it any wonder that the Romiſh clergy became ſo debauched, and ſo dangerous to the peace of ſociety, that the French and German laity, jointly, petitioned the council of Trent, that prieſts might be allowed to marry, and that their petition ſhould have theſe remarkable words? "We "are afraid to truſt our wives and daughters "at confeſſion, with men who reckon no "commerce with the ſex criminal, but in "wedlock*."

In the celibacy of the clergy, we may diſcover alſo the origin of nunneries; the

* A prieſt, about the time we are ſpeaking of, having met an Engliſh nobleman coming out of the parliament, aſked him, what news? We have juſt, ſaid he, been paſſing an act to reſtrain our clergy from having wives "You may hinder your prieſts from having wives," anſwered he, "but you cannot hinder your wives from having prieſts."

intrigues

intrigues they could procure, while at confeſſion, were only ſhort, occaſional, and with women whom they could not entirely appropriate to themſelves; to remedy which, they probably fabricated the ſcheme of having religious houſes, where young women ſhould be ſhut up from the world, and where no man but a prieſt, on pain of death, ſhould enter; that in theſe dark retreats, ſecluded from cenſure, and from the knowledge of the world, they might riot in licentiouſneſs.

Such has been the oppoſition made by the clergy to the marriage of their fraternity, and ſuch perhaps has been the cauſes of it; nor will it appear to any one who is acquainted with the hiſtory of the middle ages, that we cenſure too ſeverely in ſo ſaying. The clergy never had any arguments of conſequence to offer in ſupport of ſo arbitrary a meaſure; that of Cardinal Crema, already mentioned, ſeems to have been what they made moſt uſe of, and beſides, they quoted the authority of St. Paul, who ſays, "He that marrieth doth well, but he that "marrieth not doth better." But they truſted moſt to papal authority, and dogmatical aſſertion

CHAP. XXIX

assertion; all which, even in the ages of ignorance and superstition, were too weak to stifle nature; and men easily saw through the thin disguise, which the flagitiousness of their lives often threw aside without any ceremony.

Concubines formerly allowed by law.

As we have frequently mentioned the concubinage of the clergy, we think it justice to take notice here, that, however infamous it become afterwards, it was towards the beginning of the middle ages a legal union, something less solemn, but not less indissoluble than marriage; and that though a concubine did not enjoy the same consideration in the family as a wife of equal rank, yet she enjoyed a consequence and honour greatly superior to a mistress. By the Roman law, when the want of birth, or of fortune, prohibited a woman from becoming the wife of a man of family, the civil law allowed him to take her as a concubine, and the children of such concubine, both at Rome and among the ancient Franks, were not less qualified, with the father's approbation, to inherit, than the children of a wife. The western church, for several centuries, held concubinage of this

this kind intirely lawful. The firſt council of Toleda expreſsly ſays, That a man muſt have but one wife, or one concubine, at his option; and ſeveral councils held at Rome ſpeak the ſame language: but ſo much were theſe indulgences abuſed, that law and cuſtom joining together, at laſt finally abolifhed them. CHAP. XXIX.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Widowhood.

CHAP. XXX.

AS the condition of married women is of all others the moſt honourable and eligible, ſo that of widowhood is generally the moſt deplorable, and conſequently the object of their greateſt averſion.

Why women diſlike widowhood.

Women are by nature too weak to defend themſelves againſt the inſults and outrages of man. They are too weak to maintain themſelves either by the fiſhing and hunting of the ruder nations, or even by the paſturage and agriculture of thoſe that are more polite. To launch out into trade and commerce would require, perhaps, more induſtry, and more ſteady efforts of mind, than are conſiſtent with their volatile natures and finer feelings, and would, beſides, expoſe them to many aſſaults, which even the ſevereſt virtue might not always be able to repel. On theſe, and a variety of other accounts, they are commonly dependent on the men for the two important articles, *maintenance*

tenance and protection. While young, they are under the protection of their parents or guardians, who are obliged to provide for them, or at leaſt to ſuperintend the management both of their fortunes and conduct. When they enter into matrimony, they put themſelves under the protection and guardianſhip of a huſband; but when they become widows, no perſon is henceforth ſo much intereſted in their welfare, no perſon is legally bound to defend or to maintain them; and hence their diſlike to that forlorn condition.

But there are other cauſes beſide theſe, which ſtrongly contribute to heighten this diſlike. Though a woman may not be very handſome, yet there is always in youth ſomething that attracts the attention and procures the good offices of the men; conſequently the chance of a huſband is conſiderable. But when ſhe has been married, and is become a widow, ſhe is generally paſt the bloom of life, has loſt, by the bearing of children and care of a family, a great part of thoſe charms which procured her the firſt huſband; and on this, and ſeveral

CHAP. XXX.

other accounts, is not ſo likely to ſucceed in getting another.

State of widows in the primitive ages.

THUS the condition of widowhood, even in the politeſt countries, is attended with many diſadvantages. In rude and barbarous ones, theſe diſadvantages are ſtill more numerous and more grievous. The hiſtory of all antiquity, gives the ſtrongeſt reaſons to ſuſpect, that widows were often the prey of the lawleſs tyrant, who ſpoiled them with impunity, becauſe they had none to help them. In many places of ſcripture, we frequently find the ſtate of the widow and the fatherleſs depicted as of all others the moſt forlorn and miſerable; and men of honour and probity, in enumerating their own good actions, placing a principal ſhare of them in not having ſpoiled the widow and the fatherleſs. "If I have lift up "my hand againſt the fatherleſs," ſays Job, "or have cauſed the eyes of the widow "to fail, then let mine arm fall from my "ſhoulder, and be broken from the bone." In the book of Exodus it is declared as a law, "that ye ſhall not afflict the widow, or the "fatherleſs child: if thou afflict them in any "ways, and they cry unto me, I will ſurely hear

"hear their cry; and my wrath ſhall wax "hot, and I will kill you with the ſword, "and your wives ſhall be widows, and your "children fatherleſs." In the eight century, one of the canon laws enacted, that none ſhall preſume to diſturb widows, orphans, and weak people; and no ſentence could be executed againſt a widow, without adviſing the biſhop of the dioceſs of it. Theſe circumſtances create a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that widows were often oppreſſed; otherwiſe, why ſo many laws for their particular protection? But to men who live in happier times, when laws extend an equal protection to all, and when humanity dictates finer feelings than thoſe of triumphing over weak and helpleſs beings, ſuch laws appear ſuperfluous and unnatural; and the cauſes of promulgating them can only be cleared up, by conſidering the manners and cuſtoms of the times in which they were inſtituted.

Widows had none to redreſs their wrongs.

BEFORE laws were thoroughly digeſted, and had ſufficiently acquired the power of protecting, the privileges of maintaining their property, and revenging the injuries done either to it or their perſons, belonged to individuals. Accordingly when any perſon

CHAP. XXX.

ſon was killed, the neareſt relation was at liberty take vengeance on the murderer. But as this vengeance could ſeldom be executed without danger, it often happened, that a widow or an orphan might be murdered with impunity, as there was no perſon ſo nearly related to either, as to venture his life againſt that of him who had done the injury. But beſides, as widows and orphans have no friends ſo nearly intereſted in their property, as thoſe women who have huſbands, and thoſe children who have fathers; and as, among uncultivated people, that which is not defended by ſtrength has hardly any barrier around it. Widows and orphans, in the times of ancient barbarity, were liable to be frequently wronged, oppreſſed, and plundered. Hence the dreadful miſfortune of being in any of thoſe conditions; and hence, alſo, the ſuperior virtue of not only reſiſting the temptation of plundering them, but of pleading their cauſe, in times when the exertions of humanity were but weak, and the temptation of acquiring even a little, exceedingly ſtrong.

When we view the manners and cuſtoms of the ſavage nations of our own times, we behold

CHAP. XXX.

The widows of savages how treated.

beſiold a picture nearly reſembling that of the periods we have juſt now mentioned. We ſee that as weakneſs is not protected by the laws, to be allied to powerful relations and friends, or to be joined in ſome formidable party are the only ſecurities againſt rapine and violence. To be thought worthy of the protection of ſuch friends, or of ſuch a party, it is generally neceſſary either to be able to ſhare in their common dangers, or to be uſeful to them in ſome other manner. Widows and orphans are frequently incapable of either: hence among ſavages, they are deſpiſed and neglected, if not plundered and devoured by the hand of the oppreſſor. Circumſtances which nowhere happen more frequently than in Greenland; a country ſo extremely barren, that almoſt the whole of their ſubſiſtence muſt be drawn from the ſea; and when they cannot derive it from that ſource, as is frequently the caſe in ſtormy weather, then women, who are in general but little regarded, fall the firſt victims to famine. But ſhould no ſuch accident happen, widows, who are left without ſons of age and ſtrength enough to catch fiſh and ſeals for them, are always in the moſt deplorable condition; for the whole riches

of

CHAP. XXX.

of a Greenlander conſiſts in his little ſtock of proviſions; and ſuch is the barbarous cuſtom of the country, that when he dies, the neighbours who aſſemble to bury him, ſeldom or never depart from his hut, till they have conſumed the whole of that ſtock, and left the widow to inhabit the bare walls. In ſo horrid a climate, and on ſo ſtormy an ocean, it is but little a woman can procure. She is therefore obliged to ſubſiſt by the cold hand of charity; in Greenland much colder, than where the blood and kindlier ſpirits are fanned by a more benevolent atmoſphere, and warmed by a more vertical ſun. Hence it frequently happens, that the pieces of ſeals or of whale-blubber thrown to her, hardly ſuſtain a wretched exiſtence, or entirely fail; when neglected and unpitied by all around her, ſhe expires by hunger and by cold.

Widows not allowed to marry again and why.

AMONG many of the ancients, widows were, by cuſtom, reſtricted from having a ſecond huſband. Almoſt over all the Eaſt, and among many tribes of the Tartars, they believed that wives were not only deſtined to ſerve their huſbands in this world, but in the next alſo; and as every wife there was to be

be the ſole property of her firſt huſband, ſhe could never obtain a ſecond, becauſe he could only ſecure to himſelf her ſervice in this life. After the Greeks became ſenſible of the benefits ariſing from the regulations of Cecrops concerning matrimony, they conceived ſo high an idea of them, that they affixed a degree of infamy on the woman who married a ſecond huſband, even after the death of the firſt; and it was more than two centuries after the time of Cecrops, before any woman dared to make the attempt. Their hiſtory has tranſmitted to poſterity, with ſome degree of infamy, the name of her who firſt ventured on a ſecond marriage. It was *Gorgophona*, the daughter of Perſeus and Andromeda, who began the practice; a practice, which, though ſoon after followed by others, could not, even by the multitude of its votaries, be ſcreened from the public odium; for, during a great part of the heroic ages, widows who remarried were conſidered as having offended againſt public decency. A cuſtom to which Virgil plainly alludes, when he deſcribes the conflict in the breaſt of Dido, between her love for Æneas, and fear of wounding her honour by a ſecond marriage. Nay, ſo

CHAP. XXX.

ſcrupulous were the Greeks about ſecond marriages, that in ſome circumſtances even men were with difficulty allowed to enter into them. Charonidas excluded all thoſe from the public councils of the ſtate, who had children, and married a ſecond wife. "It is impoſſible, (ſaid he) that a man can "adviſe well for his country, who does not "conſult the good of his own family: he "whoſe firſt marriage has been happy, ought "to reſt ſatisfied with that happineſs; if un-"happy, he muſt be out of his ſenſes to "riſque being ſo again." The Romans borrowed this cuſtom of the Greeks, and conſidered it not only as a kind of breach of the matrimonial vow in the woman, but alſo as affecting the man nearly in the ſame manner that her infidelity would have affected him while he was living. "The ſoul of a "deceaſed huſband," ſays Juſtinian, "is diſ-"turbed when his wife marries a ſecond." Laws and cuſtoms of long ſtanding, acquire among the vulgar the force of moral precepts. When the manners of the Germans became ſo much refined, that they emancipated their women from the reſtriction of not marrying a ſecond huſband, the ſpirit of the cuſtom ſtill operated ſo powerful on

the minds of theſe women, that it was a long time before any of them would prefer the voice of nature and of reaſon, to that of the tenet which they had imbibed from their anceſtors; and which they therefore conſidered as ſacred. In Cumana, when a huſband dies, it is ſaid, they make the widow ſwear that ſhe will preſerve and keep by her, his head, during her life; as a monitor to tell her that ſhe is never to enter again into the married ſtate.

Claſſes of men not allowed to marry widows.

AMONG the ancient Jews and Chriſtians of the primitive ages, there were certain orders of men, who were not allowed to join themſelves in marriage with widows. Every prieſt of the Jews was to take a wife in her virginity; "a widow, or a divorced woman, "or prophane, or an harlot, theſe ſhall he "not take; but he ſhall take a virgin of his "own people to wife." Pope Syricus, copying the example ſet by Moſes, ordained, that if a biſhop married a widow, he ſhould be degraded. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that Moſes ſhould have put widows on the ſame ſcale with harlots and prophane women; an arrangement which greatly degraded them, and which muſt doubtleſs have depended on

CHAP. XXX.

ſome opinion or cuſtom, of which we are now entirely ignorant. Nor are we better acquainted with the reaſon why the clergy of the middle ages were prohibited from marrying widows; for, beſides the prohibition of Syricus, which only extended to biſhops, the church afterward iſſued many others of the ſame nature, which extended in time to all men in holy orders. In the year 400, we find it decreed in the Cyprian council, that if a reader married a widow, he ſhould never be preferred in the church; and that if a ſubdeacon did the ſame, he ſhould be degraded to a door-keeper or reader.

Amendment of the condition of widows.

As the Egyptians were the firſt people who treated women with propriety, and allowed them to enjoy the common rights of nature, they were not even unmindful of their widows, but protected them by their laws, and allowed them a proper maintenance from the effects of their deceaſed huſbands. The Greeks, who derived their laws from ancient Egypt, likewiſe allowed their widows a dower for their ſubſiſtence; but if they had any children by the firſt huſband, and married a ſecond, they could carry

carry to him none of the dower of the firſt. Among the Romans, when a man died inteſtate, and without children, his widow was the ſole heireſs of his fortune; and if he left children, ſhe had an equal ſhare with them of all that belonged to him. In the middle ages, when it was cuſtomary for creditors to ſeize upon and ſell the wives and children of a debtor, they were not empowered to take his widow. The connection was diſſolved, and ſhe was no longer his property; though her ſons and daughters were, and might be taken and ſold accordingly. In the eleventh century, the church began to eſpouſe the cauſe of widows, and required a promiſe from penitents, before ſhe would give them abſolution, that they would not henceforth *hurt the widow and the fatherleſs*. Among the Franks, it was cuſtomary to pay to the bride a ſmall ſum of money, by way of purchaſe. This ſum was commonly a ſol and a denier to a maiden; but to a widow three golden ſols and a denier were requiſite; becauſe, all women beſides widows being under perpetual guardianſhip, marriage made no change in the liberty of a maiden; whereas a widow parted with the liberty ſhe had gained by the death of her firſt

CHAP. XXX.

firſt huſband, when ſhe joined herſelf to a ſecond. The Bavarians conſidered a rape committed on a widow, as a moſt atrocious crime; and obliged the violator to pay to her one fourth part more, by way of compenſation, then he would have done to a virgin. In the Doomſday book, we find the king exacted only a fine of ten ſhillings for liberty to marry a maiden, but it coſt twenty to obtain liberty of marrying a widow; a plain proof that widows were either more valued, or ſuppoſed more able to pay.

Mourning of widows for their huſbands.

THE melancholy ceremonies of mourning have, in all ages and countries, been more peculiarly allotted to women; widows, however, whether from a ſenſe of the almoſt unſpeakable loſs they ſuſtain by the death of a huſband, or from ſome other reaſons known to themſelves only, have generally, in thoſe ſolemn ceremonies, gone greater lengths than the reſt of their ſex. Jewiſh widows mourned the death of their huſbands, at leaſt for the ſpace of ten months, and were reckoned ſhamefully abandoned if they married again within that time. Almoſt every civilized people have, in ſome degree, copied this example; ſome

ſome have allotted a longer, and others a ſhorter time to the mourning of widows, and all have marked them with more or leſs infamy, if they married again too ſoon. But as this infamy was not always a ſufficient motive to reſtrain them from doing ſo, ſeveral legiſlators have fixed a certain time, within which they ſhould not be allowed to marry. Among the Romans, this was ten months. Among other nations it varied according to the regard they thought due to a deceaſed huſband; and the expreſſion of that regard which ought to be ſhown by his wife. In the eleventh century, the church decreed, that a widow ſhould not marry within the ſpace of one year after her releaſe from the bonds of matrimony. The laws of Geneva ſhorten this period to half a year. But as there are few countries in which the matter is taken up by the legiſlature, it is more commonly regulated by cuſtom than by law.

About a century ago, widows in Scotland, and in Spain, wore the dreſs of mourners, till death, or a ſecond huſband, put an end to the ceremony. In Spain, the widow paſſed the firſt year of her mourning in a chamber hung with black, into which day-

CHAP. XXX.

day-light was never ſuffered to enter. When this lugubrious year was ended, ſhe changed her dark and diſmal ſcene for a chamber hung with grey, into which ſhe ſometimes admitted an intruſive ſunbeam to penetrate; but neither in her black nor grey chamber did cuſtom allow her looking-glaſſes, nor cabinets, nor plate, nor any thing but the moſt plain and neceſſary furniture. Nor was ſhe to have any jewels on her perſon, nor to wear any colour but black*. The faultleſs victim was, however, immediately diſcharged from her gloomy priſon, if ſhe was lucky enough to get a ſecond huſband, and ſhe frequently laid herſelf out for one, as much with a view to eſcape from her confinement, as on account of reiterating the joys of wedlock.

AMONG nations leſs cultivated, the idea of what a widow ought to undergo on the loſs of her huſband, has been carried to a

* We are ſo much accuſtomed in Europe to ſee mourners dreſſed in black, that we have affixed a melancholy idea to that colour. Black is not, however, univerſally appropriated to this purpoſe. The dreſs of Chineſe mourners is white; that of the Turks blue; of the Peruvians a mouſe colour; of the Egyptians yellow, and in ſome of their provinces green, and purple is at preſent made uſe of as the mourning dreſs of kings and cardinals.

length,

length, in ſome reſpects, more unreaſonable than in Spain. The Muſkohge ſavages in America allot her the tedious ſpace of four years to chaſtity and to mourning; and the Chikkaſah appoint three to the ſame purpoſes. The women, however, do not voluntarily comply with this cuſtom, but only to ſave themſelves from the puniſhment of adulterers, to which they would be liable if they acted otherwiſe §. To this mourning and continency are added particular auſterities; every evening and morning, during the firſt year, a widow is obliged to lament her loſs in loud and lugubrious ſtrains; but if her huſband was a war-chief, ſhe is then, during the firſt moon, to ſit the *whole day* under his war-pole †, and there

§ Continency, during the time of mourning, ſeems to have been a cuſtom early introduced into the world. The Rabbies tell us, that Adam and Eve mourned one hundred years for Abel, and lived all that time ſeparate from each other. Probably the Rabbies took this ſtory from the uſages of their own or ſome neighbouring nations, who enjoined chaſtity as one of the methods of paying reſpect to the memory of the dead.

† This war-pole is a tree ſtuck in the ground, the top and branches cut off, it is painted red, and all the weapons and trophies of war which belonged to the deceaſed are hung on it, and remain there till they rot.

CHAP. XXX.

inceſſantly to bewail her loſt lord, without any ſhelter from the heat, the cold, or whatever weather ſhall happen; a ceremony ſo rigid and ſevere, that not a few in the performance of it, fall victims to the various diſtempers which then attack them, and to which they are not allowed to pay any regard, till the ceremony is ended. This cuſtom, according to the Indians, was inſtituted, not only to hinder women from taking any methods to deſtroy, but alſo to induce them to do all in their power to preſerve the lives of their huſbands. Beſides this, there may be other reaſons. It was anciently conſidered as one of the greateſt of misfortunes to die unlamented; a circumſtance which the ſacred records, and the hiſtorians and poets of antiquity frequently allude to, and which is at this day a cuſtom in many parts of the Indies, and exiſts alſo in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, in ſome of the northern parts of which, nothing would more diſturb a chieftain when alive, than to think that his funeral dirge would not be ſung by his dependents when dead; perhaps, therefore, this long and painful mourning of the American widows was inſtituted to prevent the illuſive evil of dying unlamented.

CHAP. XXX.

But this painful ceremony, and this long celibacy of the Muſkohge and Chikkaſah widows, is not all that they are condemned to ſuffer; the law obliges them alſo, during the continuance of their weeds, to abſtain from all kinds of diverſion, from all publick company, to go with their hair negligent and diſheveled, and to deny themſelves the enchanting pleaſure of anointing it with greaſe or oil. The brother, or other neareſt relation of the deceaſed huſband, enforces the obſervation of all theſe ceremonies with the moſt ſcrupulous attention; becauſe, ſhould the widow fail in performing any of them, ſhe would bring the moſt indelible ſtain upon the whole family into which ſhe was married. Through the whole of their widowhood, the women continue to mourn their loſt huſbands, and in their lamentations conſtantly call on them by name, eſpecially when they go out to work in the morning, and when they return in the evening, at which times the whole company of maids and widows join in a melancholy chorus, making the hills and dales reverberate the funebral ſound. Huſbands, however, never weep for their wives; "tears," ſay they,

Huſbands never weep for their wives.

CHAP. XXX.

"do not become men; it is only women "that ought to weep."

Women ſtrangled, to ſerve their huſbands in the other world.

SUCH are the ſeverities which mark the fate of widows among the ſavages of America; but hard as we may reckon all theſe unmerited ſufferings and auſterities, they are lenient and tender, when compared to what widows in ſeveral parts of Africa are obliged to undergo. In that country of tyranny and deſpotiſm, wives and concubines are not only doomed to be the ſlaves of their huſbands in this world, but, according to their opinion, in the next alſo; the huſband therefore, is no ſooner dead than his wives, concubines, ſervants, and even ſometimes horſes muſt be ſtrangled, in order to render him the ſame ſervices in a future life which they did in this. At the Cape of Good Hope, in order that widows may not impoſe themſelves on the men for virgins, they are obliged by law to cut off a joint from a finger for every huſband that dies; this joint they preſent to their new huſband on the day of their marriage. In the Iſthmus of Darien, both ſexes were formerly obliged to obſerve this cuſtom, that none of them might impoſe themſelves on each other for what they

were

were not; or according to ſome authors, which is not leſs probable, it was their marriage ceremony by which they were affianced to each other. In Darien, when a widow dies, ſuch of her children as are too young to provide ſubſiſtence for themſelves are buried with her in the ſame grave, no one being willing to take the charge of them, and the community not being ſo far ripened as to diſcover that the loſs of every individual is a loſs to the ſtate. Such is the ſavage barbarity of African and American policy; a barbarity which can only be exceeded by what we are going to relate of the Hindoos, or ancient inhabitants of the banks of the Ganges, and ſome other parts of the Eaſt Indies.

Widows burnt on the funeral pile of their huſbands.

BESIDES the remarkable cuſtom of making every woman a priſoner for life, the Aſiatics preſent us with another ſtill more extraordinary, and, if poſſible, more repugnant to human nature. The Hindoos do not bury their dead after the manner of many other nations, but burn their bodies upon a large pile of wood erected for the purpoſe; upon this pile the moſt beloved wife, and in ſome places it is ſaid, all the wives

CHAP. XXX.

wives of great men are obliged to devote themſelves to the flames which conſume the body of their huſbands*.

Origin of burning widows.

THIS cruel and inhuman cuſtom having exiſted among them from the remoteſt antiquity, its origin is dark and uncertain, though they generally give the following account of it†. The Hindoo wives having in ancient times become ſo wicked and abandoned, as to make a common practiſe of poiſoning their huſbands whenever they diſpleaſed them; ſeveral methods were in vain attempted to remedy the evil, when at laſt the men found themſelves under the neceſſity of enacting a law, That every widow among them ſhould be burned to death

* In the hiſtory of the Bucaniers of America, it is ſaid that a widow in the Carribee Iſlands, is obliged every day, for the ſpace of one year, to carry victuals to the grave of her deceaſed huſband; and the year being expired, ſhe muſt dig up his bones, waſh and dry them in the ſun, put them in a ſatchel, carry them on her back all day, and ſleep upon them all night for the ſpace of another year:---cruel cuſtom! if it really exiſts; but the annonymous author of the hiſtory, abounds ſo much in the marvellous, that he deſerves but little credit.

† Cuſtoms ſomething ſimilar to this have exiſted almoſt from the earlieſt ages. Herodotus informs us that among the ancient Cretonians, a people of Thrace, widows, aſſiſted by all their relations, made intereſt who ſhould be preferred to the honour of being killed on the grave of the deceaſed huſband.

on

on the funeral pile of her dead huſband; an effectual, though dreadful remedy to prevent the moſt horrid of crimes.

As there is no poſitive proof, however, that this was the origin of ſo barbarous a cuſtom, others have ſuppoſed that it aroſe in the following manner. At the death of Brama, the great prophet and lawgiver of the Hindoos, his wives, inconſolable for ſo great a loſs, reſolved not to ſurvive him, and therefore voluntarily ſacrificed themſelves on the funeral pile. The wives of the chief Rajahs, or officers of ſtate, unwilling to have their love and fidelity reckoned leſs than the wives of Brama, followed, in a kind of bravo, their unnatural example. The Bramins, or prieſts of Brama, forſeeing that it would turn out advantageous to their ſociety, extolled the new invented piety, and declared, that the ſpirits of thoſe heroines from thenceforth deſiſted from being tranſmigrated into other bodies, and immediately entered into the firſt *bhoobun* of purification*. A reward

* According to the Bramins there are fourteen bhoobuns or ſpheres, ſeven above the earth, for the reception of the ſpirits of the bleſſed,

ſo

CHAP. XXX.

ſo glorious, which ſaved the ſpirit from paſſing a long and diſagreeable ſtate of probation, in the bodies of a variety of inferior animals, induced even the wives of the Bramins themſelves to claim a right of ſacrificing their bodies in this manner. The wives of all the Hindoos caught the enthuſiaſtic contagion, and thus in a ſhort time the frantic heroiſm of a few women brought on a general cuſtom. The Bramins ſanctified it by religion, and thereby eſtabliſhed it on a foundation that ſeveral thouſand years have not been able to deſtroy.

Women ſtimulated by the Bramins to burn themſelves.

As the Bramins receive conſiderable emoluments from the burning of widows, they take care to interweave into their education an idea of its neceſſity, and from their earlieſt youth inſtruct them to conſider this cataſtrophe as the moſt pleaſing to Brama, and the moſt beneficial to themſelves and their children. When they become wives, the ſame unwearied efforts are continued to confirm their minds in the principals ſo early

and ſeven below it, for the reception of thoſe who are condemned to further miſery and puniſhment, till they arrive at the neceſſary degree of purification.

inculcated;

inculcated; all the enthuſiaſm of religion, and all the ardour ariſing in the human mind from glory, are kindled up into a blaze. All the abhorrence ſtarting up againſt degradation, ſhame and infamy, is likewiſe conjured up to exert itſelf. The woman is told, from the Shaſter, their fountain of infallible truth, that it is proper for a widow after her huſband's death, to burn herſelf in the ſame fire with his corpſe; and that every one who does ſo, ſhall remain in paradiſe with him three croree and fifty lacks of years, in the full enjoyment of every poſſible felicity. That the children deſcended of a mother thus voluntarily ſacrificed, acquire thereby an additional luſtre, are courted in marriage by the moſt honourable of their caſt, and even ſometimes advanced to a caſt ſuperior to that in which they were born. That ſhe who daſtardly declines to aſcend the funeral pile, is degraded from her caſt, thrown out of all ſociety, and by every one contemned and deſpiſed. That her children too, degraded and buffetted, muſt feel the effects of her crime, and become with herſelf the deteſtation even of the loweſt, and moſt deſpicable, of mankind; that ſhe forfeits all title to the long felicity ſhe would

CHAP. XXX.

have enjoyed with her huſband in paradiſe; muſt ſubmit to many painful and degrading tranſmigrations, and at laſt be condemned to eternal torments in hell, for crimes of the moſt trifling nature, which would otherwiſe have been overlooked.

In ſpite of the care of the Bramins, in ſpite of all the glorious rewards offered to thoſe who burn, and dreadful puniſhments threatened againſt thoſe who do not, nature will often revolt at death, and prefer even a life of ignominy to an exit attended with all the flattering ideas of honour and felicity. We are encouraged to aſſert this, becauſe a gentleman, who has been preſent at many of theſe executions, declares, that in ſome of the victims he has obſerved a dread and reluctance, which ſtrongly ſpoke their having repented of their fatal reſolution. But too late; for *Viſtnu*, ſay the Bramins, is waiting for the ſpirit, and muſt not be diſappointed: when the woman, therefore, wants courage, ſhe is forced to aſcend the pile, and is afterward held down by long poles till the flames reach and deſtroy her; mean while her ſcreams and cries are drowned by the noiſe of loud muſic, and the ſtill

more noiſy ſhouts and acclamations of the ſurrounding multitude.

Custom of burning not obliterated.

SOME hiſtorians have lately aſſerted, that the cuſtom of burning no longer exiſts in India. This, however, is a miſtake; there are two recent inſtances of it tranſmitted by Europeans, who were witneſſes of the tranſactions they related. Of one of theſe, as being the moſt circumſtantial, we ſhall give our readers an abſtract. On the 4th of February, 1742, died Rham Chund, pundit of the Maharattor tribe; his widow, aged ſeventeen or eighteen years, as ſoon as he expired, immediately declared to the Bramins, and witneſſes preſent, her reſolution to burn. As the family was of great importance, all her relations and friends left no arguments unattempted to diſſuade her from her purpoſe. The ſtate of her infant children, the terrors and pains of the death ſhe aſpired after, were painted to her in the ſtrongeſt and moſt lively colours; but ſhe was deaf to all. Her children, indeed, ſhe ſeemed to leave with ſome regret; but when the terrors of burning were mentioned to her, with a countenance calm and reſolved, ſhe put one of her fingers into the fire, and held it

CHAP. XXX.

there a conſiderable time; then, with one of her hands, ſhe put fire into the palm of the other; ſprinkled incenſe upon it, and fumigated the attending Bramins. Being given to underſtand, that ſhe ſhould not obtain permiſſion to burn, ſhe fell immediately into the moſt deep affliction; but ſoon recollecting herſelf, anſwered, that death would ſtill be in her power; and that if ſhe were not allowed to make her exit, according to the principles of her caſt, ſhe would ſtarve herſelf. Finding her thus reſolved, her friends were, at laſt, obliged to conſent to her propoſal.

EARLY on the following morning, the body of the deceaſed was carried down to the water-ſide; the widow followed about ten o'clock, accompanied by three principal Bramins, her children, relations, and a numerous crowd of ſpectators. As the order for her burning did not arrive till after one o'clock, the interval was employed in praying with the Bramins, and waſhing in the Ganges: as ſoon as it arrived, ſhe retired, and ſtaid about half an hour in the midſt of her female relations; ſhe then diveſted herſelf of her bracelets, and other ornaments; and

and having tied them in a kind of apron, which hung before her, was conducted by the females to a corner of the pile. On the pile was an arched arbour, formed of dry ſticks, boughs, and leaves; and open only at one end to admit her entrance. In this was depoſited the body of the deceaſed; his head at the end, oppoſite to the opening. At that corner of the pile, to which ſhe had been conducted, a Bramin had made a ſmall fire, round which ſhe and three Bramins ſat for a few minutes; one of them then put into her hand a leaf of the bale tree; the wood of which a part of the funeral pile is always conſtructed: ſhe threw the leaf into the fire, and one of the others gave her a ſecond leaf, which ſhe held over the flame, whilſt he, three times, dropped ſome ghee on it, which melted and fell into the fire: whilſt theſe things were doing, a third Bramin read to her ſome portions of the Aughtorrah Beid, and aſked her ſome queſtions, which ſhe anſwered with a ſteady and ſerene countenance; theſe being over, ſhe was led with great ſolemnity three times round the pile, the Bramins reading before her; when ſhe came the third time to the ſmall fire, ſhe ſtopped, took her rings off her toes and fingers,

CHAP. XXX.

fingers, and put them to her other ornaments; then taking a ſolemn and majeſtic leave of her children, parents, and relations, one of the Bramins dipped a large wick of cotton in ſome ghee, and giving it lighted into her hand, led her to the open ſide of the arbour, where all the Bramins fell at her feet; ſhe bleſſed them, and they retired weeping. She then aſcended the pile, and entered the arbour, making a profound reverence at the feet of the deceaſed, and then advancing, ſeated herſelf by his head. In ſilent meditation, ſhe looked on his face for the ſpace of a minute; then ſet fire to the arbour in three places; but ſoon obſerving that ſhe had kindled it to leeward, and that the wind blew the flames from her, ſhe aroſe, ſet fire to the windward ſide, and placidly reſuming her ſtation; ſat there with a dignity and compoſure, which no words can convey an idea of. The pile being of combuſtible matter, the ſupporters of the roof were ſoon conſumed, and the whole tumbled in upon her, putting an end at once to her courage and her life.

THE other inſtance of a woman burning herſelf happened within theſe few years; as

as the ceremonies ſhe obſerved in doing it, were nearly the ſame as thoſe we have juſt related, we ſhall only obſerve that the following were the differences. The firſt only waſhed her own body in the Ganges; the ſecond waſhed herſelf and the corps of her huſband. The firſt gave nothing to the ſpectators; the ſecond diſtributed among them money, rice fried in butter, and betel out of her own mouth. The firſt kindled the fire that was to devour her; the ſecond had it kindled by her children. The firſt ſat by her deceaſed huſband; the ſecond ſtretched herſelf down by his ſide. But theſe immaterial differences may, perhaps, be regulated by the cuſtoms of different diſtricts.

Widows ſold by the relations of the deceaſed huſbands.

FROM ſuch ſcenes of horror, we naturally turn with abhorrence; and are happy to ſay, that though the burning of widows is not altogether aboliſhed, by the authority and example of the Europeans it is gradually falling into diſuſe, and cannot be executed without leave of the governor; who grants it as ſeldom as poſſible: European authority and example, however, cannot prevail on the Aſiatics to conſider their women in a more liberal point of view; to treat

CHAP. XXX.

treat them as companions and equals, or to releaſe them from theſe priſons where they are confined for life. If ſuch, therefore, is the generally treatment of the ſex, even while in all the bloom of youth and beauty, we are not to expect that thoſe widows who do not burn with their huſbands, are to experience any indulgence—when their youth, when their beauty, is no more; when they have failed in a point of duty, and of gratitude, reckoned ſo neceſſary; and have nothing left to plead their cauſe but humanity, an emotion hardly alive among the people we are treating of, and whoſe feeble exertions, in many places of Aſia and Africa, cannot reſcue even the widow of a friend, or a brother, from being conſidered as the property of the relations of her deceaſed huſband, and ſold or condemned to labour for their profit.

WIDOWS are not, however, in all parts of Aſia treated in this ſlaviſh manner. In China, if they have had children, they become abſolute miſtreſſes of themſelves; and their relations have no power to compel them to continue widows, nor to give them to another huſband. It is not, however, reputable

reputable for a widow who has children, to enter into a ſecond marriage, without great neceſſity, eſpecially if ſhe is a woman of diſtinction; in which caſe, although ſhe has been a wife only a few hours, or barely contracted, ſhe frequently thinks herſelf obliged to paſs the reſt of her days in widowhood; and thereby to teſtify to the world the eſteem and veneration ſhe had for her huſband or lover. In the middle ſtations of life, the relations of ſome deceaſed huſbands, eager to reimburſe the family in the ſum which the wife originally coſt it, oblige her to marry, or rather ſell her to another huſband, if ſhe has no male iſſue. And it frequently happens, that the future huſband has concluded the bargain, and paid the money for her, before ſhe is acquainted with the tranſaction. From this oppreſſion ſhe has only two methods of delivering herſelf, Her relations may reimburſe thoſe of the deceaſed huſband, and claim her exemption, or, ſhe may become a *Bonzeſſe;* a ſtate, however, not very honourable, when embraced in an involuntary manner. By the laws of China, a widow cannot be ſold to another huſband till the time of her mourning for the firſt expires; ſo eager, however, are the friends

CHAP. XXX.

often to diſpoſe of her, that they pay no regard to this law; but, on complaint being made to a mandarin, he is obliged to do her juſtice. As ſhe is commonly unwilling to be bartered for in this manner, without her conſent or knowledge, as ſoon as the bargain is ſtruck, a covered chair, with a conſiderable number of luſty fellows, is brought to her houſe; ſhe is forcibly put into it, and conveyed to the houſe of her new huſband, who takes care to ſecure her.

European widows how treated.

THOUGH among the ſavages of America, though in Africa and Aſia, widows are treated in this infamous manner, and their condition thereby rendered the moſt deplorable; in Europe the caſe is ſo widely different, that a widow, in tolerable circumſtances, is more miſtreſs of herſelf, than any other woman; being free from that guardianſhip and controul, to which the ſex are ſubject while virgins, and while wives. In no part of Europe is this more exemplified than at Parma, and ſome other places of Italy; where a widow is the only female who is at liberty either to chuſe a huſband, or aſſume the government of any of her actions. Should a virgin pretend to chuſe for herſelf,

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it would be reckoned the moſt profligate licentiouſneſs; ſhould ſhe govern her actions or opinions, ſhe would be conſidered as the moſt pert, and perhaps the moſt abandoned of her ſex. At Turin, the order of St. Maurice are reſtricted from marrying widows; and yet at Turin the condition of a widow is, in point of every other liberty, preferable to that of a maid. Politeneſs and humanity have joined their efforts in Europe, to render the condition of widows comfortable. The government of England has provided a fund for the widows of officers. The clergy of Scotland, have voluntarily raiſed a ſtock to ſupport the widows of their order. Many incorporated trades have followed theſe laudable examples; nor is this care confined to Britain, it extends to France, Germany, and other countries, where it exiſts in forms too various to be delineated.

As we ſhall have occaſion in the next chapter to treat more fully of the rights and privileges of widows in England, we ſhall not at preſent enter on that ſubject. Our ancient laws, and thoſe of a great part of Europe, ordained, that a widow ſhould loſe

CHAP. XXX.

her dower, if ſhe married again, or ſuffered her chaſtity to be corrupted; and the laws of Pruſſia retain this ordinance to the preſent time. They likewiſe ordain, that a widow ſhall not marry again within nine months after the death of her huſband; and that if, while ſhe is with child to a deceaſed huſband, ſhe marry another, ſhe ſhall be put into the houſe of correction; and the huſband, if he knew her condition, put to work at the wheel-barrow for one year. Beſides making widows loſe their dower when they enter into a ſecond marriage, the Pruſſians have another regulation concerning them, highly deſcriptive of the humanity and wiſdom of their legiſlator. When a widower and a widow intend to marry, one or both of which having children, as it too frequently happens that ſuch children are either deſpiſed or neglected, in conſequence of the new connections formed, and perhaps of the new offſpring raiſed up, the laws of Pruſſia provide for their education and fortune, according to the rank and circumſtances of the parents; and will not ſuffer either man or woman to enter into a ſecond marriage, without previouſly ſettling with the children of the firſt.

CHAP. XXX.

Pruſſian widows, ſome laws concerning them.

We have already related, that widows in ſome parts of the world, are obliged to diſtinguiſh themſelves by certain marks from the reſt of their ſex, that they may not have a power of impoſing themſelves on the men as virgins. The laws of Pruſſia carry this idea ſtill farther; they reckon that the man who marries a widow, believing her to be a virgin, is ſo egregiouſly cheated, that they retort the evil on the aggreſſor, and render the marriage null and of no effect. We cannot pretend to deſcribe particularly the ideas that the Pruſſians entertain of widows: they are certainly, however, much leſs exalted than thoſe they entertain of virgins; as in their code of laws we meet with this remarkable ſentiment: "The huſband *may* "preſent to his bride the *morgengabe*, or gift, "on the morning after marriage, *even though* "*he ſhould have married a widow.*" But though widows ſeem by them leſs eſteemed than virgins, they are not without ſeveral privileges. In ſome provinces, if there is no marriage ſettlement, and the huſband dies inteſtate, they ſucceed to the half of all that was the joint property of both. But a privilege ſtill more extraordinary, and neither

CHAP. XXX.

neither reconcilable to nature, nor to ſound policy, is, the allowing in ſome caſes to a widow, eleven months after the death of her huſband, to bring forth the child that was begot by him; which, according to the Pruſſian law, ſhall be legitimate, provided it appear more ſtrong and vigorous than a child of nine months, and provided nothing can be proved againſt the woman.

In almoſt all the other countries of Europe, the laws and cuſtoms, which regard widows, are little different from thoſe concerning virgins, only in this circumſtance, that they every where allow the widow to be miſtreſs of herſelf; while the maid and the wife are controuled by a parent or a huſband. They generally alſo ſecure to the widow a maintenance from the eſtates and effects of her deceaſed huſband, and frequently devolve upon her the important truſt of bringing up her children, and ſuffer her to reap ſome advantages from their board and education; but ſuch advantages are, for the moſt part, in the power of the father, who, by his will, may leave them to his wife, or to any other guardian he ſhall think proper

proper to appoint; for the laws of Europe do not conſider the mother as the natural guardian of her own children, nor endow her with any authoritative power over them.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

CHAP. XXXI.

A ſhort view of ſome of the moſt material Laws and Cuſtoms, concerning the Women of Great Britain.

CHAP. XXXI.

Privileges of women in Britain more firmly ſettled than in other countries.

IN proportion as real politeneſs and elegance of manners advance, the intereſts and advantages of the fair ſex not only advance alſo, but become more firmly and permanently eſtabliſhed. The intereſts, however, and good treatment of the ſex do not altogether depend on the advancement of politeneſs and elegance, for it ſometimes happens, that a people rather leſs advanced in theſe articles than their neighbours, make up the loſſes thereby ariſing to their women, by tenderneſs and humanity. The French and Italians are before the inhabitants of Britain in politeneſs, they are ſuperior to them in elegance, yet the condition of their women, upon the whole, is not preferable. Such privileges and immunities as they derive from the influence of politeneſs, the

CHAP XXXI.

Britiſh derive from the laws of their country. Flowing in this channel, though theſe privileges are perhaps accompanied with leſs ſoftneſs and indulgence, they have the advantage of being eſtabliſhed on a firmer foundation; and being dictated by equity and humanity, are leſs liable to be altered and infringed, than if they depended on the whim and caprice which influences gallantry and politeneſs.

BEFORE we proceed to a particular detail of theſe laws which regard the perſons and properties of the women of this country, it may not be improper to obſerve, that, taken collectively, and compared with the ſame kind of laws in other countries, they ſeem ſo much preferable, that we cannot help imagining the ſame ſpirit, which for many centuries prompted the Engliſh to be ſo liberal of their blood and treaſure, in ſupport of thoſe weaker nations who were oppreſſed by their more powerful neighbours, has alſo dictated the laws which regard that ſex who are almoſt every where enſlaved or oppreſſed by the other. It is true, the laws of ſeveral countries are in ſome particulars more favourable to the ſex than thoſe of

of England. Theſe of Frederic king of Pruſſia, which regard the matrimonial compact, ſhew a greater indulgence to the women, and veſt in them powers more extenſive than thoſe of England. Theſe of France and Italy, as well as the cuſtoms which regard their perſonal liberty, ſeem more indulgent. And theſe of Spain, which regard their rank, and ſettle the deference to be paid to them, greatly exceed any thing experienced in this country. But thoſe favours and indulgences are only partial, they only mark particular parts of their code of female laws, and do not uniformly extend their influence over the whole.

Privileges of the queens of England.

In conſidering the advantages and diſadvantages in the condition of our women, we ſhall begin with the higher ranks of life. In France, the Salique law does not allow a female to inherit the crown; but in England a woman may be the firſt perſonage in the kingdom, may ſucceed to the crown in her own right, and in that caſe, not bound by any of the laws which reſtrain women, ſhe may enjoy the ſame powers and privileges as a king. Such a queen, if ſhe marry, retains alſo the ſame power, iſſues the

CHAP. XXXI.

orders, and tranſacts the buſineſs of the ſtate in her own name, and continues ſtill the ſovereign, while her huſband is only a ſubject. But when a king ſucceeds in his own right to the crown, and marries, his queen is then only a ſubject, and her rights and privileges not near ſo extenſive. She is exempted, however, from the general laws which exclude married women from having any property in their own right. She is allowed a court, and officers diſtinct from thoſe of the king her huſband. And ſhe may ſue any perſon at law, without joining her huſband in the ſuit. It is high treaſon to endeavour to compaſs her death, and to violate her chaſtity is puniſhable in a much ſeverer manner than the puniſhment for violating that of any other woman. She may purchaſe lands. She may ſell and convey them to another perſon, without the interference of her huſband. She may have a ſeparate property in goods and in lands, and may diſpoſe of theſe by will, as if ſhe were a ſingle woman. She is not liable to pay any toll, and cannot be fined in any court of law. In all other reſpects ſhe is only conſidered as a ſubject, and on the commiſſion of any crime may be tried and puniſhed

puniſhed by the peers of the realm. A queen-dowager has privileges different from all other women of whatever rank. She remains ſtill entitled to almoſt every right ſhe enjoyed during the life of her huſband, and even if ſhe marry a ſubject, does not loſe her rank or title. But as a marriage of this kind is conſidered as derogatory to her dignity, no man is allowed to eſpouſe her without a licence from the reigning king.

Privileges of other females of the royal family.

Some of the other females of the royal family are alſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed and protected by the law. To violate the chaſtity of the conſort of the prince of Wales, or of the eldeſt daughter of the king, although with their own conſent, is deemed high-treaſon, and puniſhable accordingly. In former times, the king had a power of levying an aid upon his ſubjects, to enable him to defray the expence of marrying and giving a portion to his eldeſt daughter. But this power, which was frequently ſtretched into the moſt exorbitant oppreſſion, declined with the feudal ſyſtem, and has long ſince happily expired. As for the younger ſons and daughters of the king, they are hardly otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed by the laws, than by having

CHAP. XXXI. having the precedency of all other ſubjects in public ceremonies.

Privileges of peereſſes.

BESIDES the privileges annexed to the females of the royal family, there are ſome alſo enjoyed by peereſſes, which are not common to other women. A peereſs, when guilty of any crime, cannot be tried but by the houſe of peers; and if convicted of any crime within the benefit of clergy, may plead, and is entitled to an exemption from the puniſhment of burning on the hand, a puniſhment commonly inflicted upon people of all inferior ranks for ſuch kind of offences. A woman, who is noble in her own right, cannot loſe her nobility by marrying the meaneſt plebeian: ſhe communicates her nobility to her children, but not to her huſband. She who is only ennobled by marrying a peer, loſes that nobility if ſhe afterwards marry a commoner, the law judging it expedient that marriage ſhould have a power of degrading as well as of elevating her. She who firſt marries a duke, or other peer of a ſuperior order, and afterwards a ſimple baron, is ſtill allowed to retain her firſt title, and the privileges annexed to it: for the law conſiders all peers as equals. In the

the ſcale of female rank and importance, there is a kind of intermediate ſpace between the peereſs and the commoner, filled up by the wives of biſhops, judges, and baronets; all which, though they ſhare in the ſplendour and opulence of their huſbands, have no title in conſequence of the rank which theſe huſbands enjoy. By the courteſy indeed of this country, the wives of baronets are called ladies, a title ſuperior to that of their huſbands, but at the ſame time a title to which they have no legal right, being in all judical writs and proceedings only denominated Dame ſuch-a-one, according to the names of their huſbands. In Scotland the courteſy of the country is carried ſtill much farther. Every woman who is proprietor of any land in her own right, or is the wife of a man who is proprietor of an eſtate, great or little, is called Lady ſuch-a-thing, according to the name of that eſtate; ſo that a woman is ſometimes accoſted with the pompous title of lady, who may almoſt cover the whole of her territorial diſtrict with her apron.

As women are, in poliſhed ſociety, weak and incapable of ſelf-defence, the laws of this

CHAP. XXXI.

Privileges of women in general.

this country have ſupplied this defect, and formed a kind of barrier around them, by rendering their perſons ſo ſacred, that even death is, in ſeveral caſes, the conſequence of taking improper advantages of that weakneſs. By our laws, no man is allowed to take a woman of any rank or condition, and oblige her to marry him, under pain of impriſonment for two years, and a fine at the pleaſure of the king. But he who forcibly carries away an heireſs, and marries her, even though he ſhould obtain her conſent after the forcible abduction, ſubjects himſelf to a ſtill greater penalty, he is guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. And there is hardly any criminal whom the law purſues to death with more ſteady and unrelenting ſeverity. Women are, on account of their weakneſs, and the better to preſerve the modeſty of their ſex, excuſed from ſerving all kinds of public offices; and ſuch as are under twelve years of age, which is the time fixed by the law for being marriageable, if forced into a marriage, or even ſeduced to conſent to it, may afterwards refuſe to the huſband the rights of matrimony, and have the marriage declared null and of no effect.

CHAP. XXXI.

How ſecured againſt the lawleſs raviſher.

In no inſtance has the law exerted itſelf more ſtrenuouſly, than in guarding women againſt every violence offered to their chaſtity. Their ſecurity in this reſpect has, in every well regulated ſtate, been conſidered as an object of the utmoſt importance, not only as guaranteeing to themſelves that liberty of refuſal, which throughout the whole extent of nature ſeems the right of females, but alſo, as affording to the public all the ſecurity which the law can give, for the chaſtity of their wives, and the legitimacy of their children. We have already mentioned the puniſhments inflicted on the perpetrators of rapes in ſeveral periods and countries*. In Britain theſe puniſhments have varied with the manners of the times, and the genius of the legiſlators. In the time of the Anglo-Saxons, he who committed a rape ſuffered death. William the

* The laws of Conſtantine againſt rape and ſeduction, are marked with a brutal ſeverity far beyond any thing we have ever met with. When a woman under the age of twenty-five, was decoyed, or forcibly taken from the houſe of her parents, the culprit was either burnt alive, or torn to pieces by wild beaſts: did the woman declare that ſhe had been taken away with her own conſent, her humanity inſtead of ſaving her lover, involved her alſo in the ſame ruin. Proſecutions of this kind were intruſted to the parents of the guilty or injured woman; but if nature inclined them to forgive, or policy to repair the honour of their family by marriage, in either caſe they ſubjected themſelves to

CHAP. XXXI.

Conqueror altered that punifhment to the lofs of eyes and emafculation, which difabled the offender from being again guilty of the like crime. Henry the Third, confidering thefe punifhments as too fevere, and finding that a power fo extenfive lodged in the hands of all forts of women, was often abufed from motives of refentment, ordained, that a rape, when not profecuted within forty days, fhould only be confidered as a fimple trefpafs, and punifhed by two years imprifonment and a fine, at the pleafure of the crown; and even when it was profecuted within the forty days, the king referved to himfelf the power of punifhing the offender. Having made trial of this method, and finding that it was far from fufficient to guard the fair fex from violence, he at laft made the commiffion of a rape felony. Finding even this defence too weak, he, fome time after, made it felony without

exile and confifcation. Slaves, whether male or female, when acceffary to rape or feduction, were burnt alive, or deftroyed by the execrable torture of having melted lead poured down their throats. The rigour of this law feems even to have fhocked the unfeeling promulgator, and to have obliged him to foften the feverity of his general inftitution, by partial acts of mercy. In fubfequent reigns the moft odious parts of it were altered, or repealed.

benefit

benefit of clergy. And ſo careful has the law been to ſecure all women of whatever character or condition, that even the moſt common proſtitute has, in caſe of a rape, the ſame powers and privileges as other women. CHAP. XXXI.

In almoſt all other caſes, whether civil or criminal, parties cannot be witneſſes for themſelves. A woman, however, who is raviſhed, may give evidence upon her oath, and is in law not only conſidered as a competent witneſs, but may by her ſole teſtimony prove the fact, and deprive the aggreſſor of his life. In ſome meaſure to counteract the exorbitance of this power, and ſecure the lives of the men from being ſacrificed to pique and reſentment, the credibility of her teſtimony is left entirely in the breaſt of the jury, to be judged of from the tenour of her conduct, and the circumſtances that occur in the trial. This power of being a witneſs for herſelf, in caſes of aſſault, is not confined to ſuch women only as are allowed by the law to be competent witneſſes in other caſes, it is extended even to infants. She who is under twelve years of age may be a competent witneſs againſt a man who has abuſed her, provided ſhe has attained a ſuf-

CHAP. XXXI.

ficient degree of underſtanding to know the nature of an oath. Nor does the privilege of the ſex in this particular inſtance ſtop even here, it is extended to a length unknown in moſt other caſes. If a man has been tried and condemned for a rape, and is afterwards pardoned, the woman may, by an appeal, have him tried again for the ſame offence. A married woman may ſue her raviſher in any criminal court, without the conſent or approbation of her huſband. And, to ſum up all, a woman may even kill a man who attempts to raviſh her.

SUCH extenſive privileges, veſted in a ſex ſo much guided by the impulſes of paſſion, and ſo ſuſceptible of the ſtrongeſt and moſt implacable reſentment, has by many been conſidered as a violent ſtretch of legal authority, whereby the balance of juſtice, which ought in all caſes to be equal, is evidently made to preponderate more in favour of the one ſex than of the other: But, on the other hand, when we conſider the weakneſs of that ſex, the violence of ours, and the neceſſity which humanity and the rules of ſociety lay us under of defending them. When to theſe we add, the impoſſibility, in this

this caſe, of framing a law which ſhall anſwer the intention of the legiſlator, and lay neither of the ſexes under any diſadvantage; and that much greater evils would ariſe to ſociety, were women ſubject to the aſſaults of every rude invader, than from the powers with which they are inveſted, we cannot help thinking, that this law, as it ſtands at preſent, is, perhaps, nearly as perfect as the nature of the caſe will admit of.

Power of women to compel the performance of a promiſe of marriage.

As licentiouſneſs of manners, fickleneſs of temper, or a fraudulent intention of debauching, frequently induce the more giddy or worthleſs part of our ſex, to addreſs and make promiſes to a woman, without any intention of marrying her; and as it is impoſſible in all caſes for the ſex to diſcover the real lover from the impoſtor; that they may not be altogether without redreſs when ſo cheated, the law of England ordains, that if a man courts a woman, promiſes to marry her, and afterwards marries another, ſhe may, by bringing an action againſt him, recover ſuch damages, as a jury ſhall think adequate to the loſs ſhe has ſuſtained. In Scotland, it is ſaid, ſhe may recover one half of the fortune he receives with his wife.

CHAP. XXXI.

wife. On the other hand, as it ſometimes happens, that artful women draw on the more fond and ſilly part of our ſex, to make them valuable preſents under pretence of marriage, and afterwards laugh at, or refuſe to marry them. A man who has been ſo bubbled may ſue the woman to return the preſents he made her, becauſe they were preſumed to have been conditionally given, and ſhe has failed in performing her part of that condition.

THOSE perſonal privileges, and the few reſtrictions upon them which we have here enumerated, are chiefly ſuch as regard unmarried women, we ſhall now proceed to relate ſome of the more peculiar advantages and diſadvantages of thoſe who have entered into the ſtate of wedlock.

Privileges of married women.

BY the laws of this country, the moment a woman is married, her political exiſtence is annihilated, or incorporated into that of her huſband. But by this little mortification ſhe is no loſer, and her apparent loſs of conſequence is abundantly compenſated by a long liſt of extenſive privileges and immunities, which, for the encouragement of

of matrimony, were, perhaps, contrived to give married women the advantage over thoſe that are ſingle. Of all the privileges conferred by nature, none are ſo precious and ineſtimable as perſonal liberty. Men of all ranks and conditions, and women who are unmarried, or widows, may be deprived of this for debts contracted by themſelves, or by others for whom they have given ſecurity; but wives cannot be impriſoned for debt, nor deprived of their perſonal liberty for any thing but crimes; and even ſuch of theſe as ſubject the offender only to a pecuniary puniſhment muſt be expiated by the huſband. No married woman is liable to pay any debt, even though contracted without the knowledge, or againſt the conſent, of her huſband; and what is ſtill more extraordinary, whatever debts ſhe may have contracted while ſingle, devolve, the moment of her marriage, upon the hapleſs ſpouſe, who, like the ſcape-goat, is loaded by the prieſt who performs the ceremony with all the ſins and extravagances of his wife. It is a common opinion among the vulgar, that a general warning in the Gazette, or in a news-paper, will exempt a man from the payment of ſuch debts as are contracted

CHAP. XXXI.

tracted by his wife without his knowledge, but this opinion is without any good foundation. Particular warnings, however, given in writing, have been held as good exemptions; but such are of little advantage to a husband, as his wife may always find people to give her credit, whom the husband has not cautioned against it.

So long as a wife cohabits with her husband, he is, by the laws of his country, obliged to provide her with food, drink, clothing, and all other necessaries suitable to her rank and his circumstances, even although he received no fortune with her. If he leave her, or force her to leave him by ill usage, he is also liable to maintain her in the same manner; but if she run away from him, and he is willing that she should abide in his house, he is not liable to give her any separate maintenance, nor to pay any of her debts, unless he take her again; in which case he must pay whatever she contracts, whether she behave herself ill or well. When a husband forces his wife to leave him by cruel usage, she may claim a separate maintenance; but while she enjoys that, he shall not be liable to pay any of her debts.

As

CHAP. XXXI.

As perſonal ſafety is of all other privileges the greateſt and moſt valuable, and as weakneſs may often be expoſed to danger when in the hands of unreſtricted power, the laws of this country have taken the moſt effectual method of ſecuring the ſafety of married women. When a huſband, from maliciouſneſs or reſentment, or any other cauſe, threatens, or actually beats his wife, ſhe may demand ſecurity for his future good behaviour. And on application to any juſtice of the peace, ſuch juſtice is obliged to make the huſband find ſuch ſecurity. When a huſband, conſcious of having uſed his wife ill, will not allow her to go out of his houſe, or carries her away, or keeps her concealed, in order to prevent her endeavouring to find redreſs of the evils that ſhe ſuffers, her friends may in that caſe, by applying to the court of King's Bench, obtain an order for the huſband to produce his wife before the ſaid court; and if ſhe there ſwears the peace againſt him, ſhe delivers herſelf from his juriſdiction, and he cannot compel her to live with him, but the court will grant her an order to live where ſhe pleaſes. And ſhould he attempt to force her to do otherwiſe, it would be a breach of the king's

CHAP. XXXI.

peace, by which he would be ſubjected to the penalties annexed to ſuch breach.

When a wife is beaten by any perſon, ſo as to be diſabled from managing her family and affairs, the huſband is by law entitled to ſuch damages on that account from the offender as a jury ſhall think fit to give. But if an attack is made upon a man's wife in his preſence, the law conſiders the attack as made upon himſelf, and gives him the ſame liberty of defending her that it allows in defending himſelf. Nor does it ſtop at the attacks made on her perſon. If her property is in danger, he may repel force by force, and the breach of the peace which happens on that account is only chargeable on the aggreſſor. But care muſt be taken that ſuch defence do not exceed what is neceſſary for prevention; for if it does, the defender becomes himſelf an aggreſſor. Among the Romans, among ſeveral other ancient nations, and among ſome people in the preſent times, it is not deemed culpable for a huſband to kill the man whom he ſurpriſes committing adultery with his wife. By the laws of England, he who kills ſuch a man, is reckoned guilty of man-

manſlaughter; but in conſequence of the enormous provocation given, the court commonly orders the ſentence of burning on the hand to be inflicted in the ſlighteſt manner.

Puniſhment of taking a wife from her huſband.

It being conſidered by the legiſlature as advantageous to population as well as conducive to the harmony of ſociety, that every married couple ſhould live together. The law ordains that no man ſhall take away a wife from her huſband, neither by force, nor by fraud, nor by her own conſent; and he who tranſgreſſes this order, is liable to a writ of treſpaſs, or an action of raviſhment, which will oblige him to pay damages to the injured huſband, and ſuffer impriſonment for two years. But this is not the utmoſt extent of the law, it likewiſe intitles a huſband to damages, not only againſt the perſon who actually takes away his wife, but alſo againſt him who entices or perſuades her to live ſeparately from him. The ancient laws of England are ſaid to have been ſo ſtrict in this particular, that when a wife happened to miſs her way, the man who found her might not even take her to his houſe, unleſs ſhe was benighted, in danger of being drowned, of falling into the hands

CHAP. XXXI.

of robbers, or of being devoured by wild beaſts. But a ſtranger might carry her on horſeback to the neareſt market-town, or juſtice of the peace, there to remain till claimed by her huſband.

As the wife is not allowed to leave the huſband, ſo neither may the huſband abandon his wife. If he does ſo, without ſhewing a ſufficient cauſe, ſhe may enter a ſuit againſt him for reſtitution of the rights of marriage; and the ſpiritual court will compel him to return, to live with her, and to reſtore them. But the law extends its privileges to married women ſtill farther, and grants them immunities almoſt ſcarcely compatible with the rules of civil ſociety and the public ſafety. If a wife commit felony in the company of her huſband, it ſuppoſes ſhe did it by his compulſion, and on that account abſolves her from the puniſhment commonly inflicted on ſuch delinquents. If a wife take away the goods of her huſband without his knowledge, and ſell them, neither the wife who ſtole them, nor the perſon who bought them of her, are conſidered as guilty of felony. A wife may receive and conceal her huſband if he is guilty of felony

or

or any other crime; for this action of concealment is only conſidered in her as ſelf-preſervation, an inſtinct which no law can take away or deſtroy. If a wife receive ſtolen goods into her houſe, and ſecrete them from her huſband, the law will nevertheleſs impute the crime to the huſband, unleſs he either divulge the matter to a magiſtrate, or leave his houſe as ſoon as he diſcovers the crime. Though wives are thus far indulged by the law, yet they are not emancipated from the puniſhment it inflicts, when they commit robbery, treaſon, or murder, although in the company of, and by the coercion of, their huſbands.

Puniſhment of ſervants for abuſing their miſtreſs.

As a wife always is, or ought to be, the manager of her huſband's family, ſhe commonly has ſervants under her care, whom ſhe neither can compel to do their duty by force, nor defend herſelf againſt, ſhould they be inclined to offer her any ill uſage; the law, therefore, ordains, that if any ſervant or labourer aſſault or beat his miſtreſs, he ſhall ſuffer one year's impriſonment, or other corporal puniſhment, according to the nature of the crime. Every pregnant woman is likewiſe peculiarly defended by the law; as an

CHAP. XXXI.

an aſſault upon her, while in this ſtate, does not only more eaſily endanger her life, but alſo the life of her child. Every aſſault of ſuch kind is therefore puniſhed with exemplary ſeverity. Any woman alſo, who is capitally convicted, whether married or ſingle, may plead pregnancy in arreſt of the execution of her ſentence; and if ſhe is really found with child, her plea will be ſuſtained; for it would be highly unjuſt, that the innocent ſhould be deſtroyed with the guilty.

ALTHOUGH a huſband is, by the laws of this country, veſted with a power over all the goods and chattels of his wife, yet he cannot deviſe by his will ſuch of her ornaments and jewels as ſhe is accuſtomed to wear, though it has been held that he may, if he pleaſes, diſpoſe of them in his lifetime. A huſband is liable to anſwer all ſuch actions at law as were attached againſt his wife at the time of their marriage, and alſo to pay all the debts ſhe had contracted previous to that period; but if his wife ſhall happen to die before he has made payment of ſuch debts, the compact which made them one fleſh, and blended their intereſts into one, being diſſolved, the huſband is thereby abſolved

ſolved from paying her anti-nuptial debts. A married woman may purchaſe an eſtate, and if the huſband does not enter his diſſent before the conveyance, he ſhall be conſidered as having giving ſuch conſent, and the conveyance be good and valid. A wife who is accuſtomed to trade, may ſell goods in an open market; and ſuch goods, a huſband by virtue of his authority over her, ſhall not have any power to reclaim.

No woman can loſe any rank which ſhe derived from her birth, by marrying the meaneſt plebeian; but though deſcended of the loweſt of the human race herſelf, ſhe may by marriage be raiſed, in this country, to any rank beneath the ſovereignty. No woman can by marriage confer a ſettlement in any pariſh on her huſband; but every man who has a legal ſettlement himſelf, confers the ſame ſettlement by marriage on his wife. Though a huſband and his wife are by the law conſidered ſo much as one perſon, that they are rarely admitted as evidence for or againſt each other, yet this rule has in ſome inſtances been departed from, even in caſes not ſtrictly criminal. A wife has been admitted evidence to prove a cheat put upon her huſband. Be-

CHAP. XXXI.

Privileges of married women by the contract of marriage.

BESIDES the advantages we have now mentioned, to which married women have a right by the general laws of matrimony as they now ſtand in Britain, there are others which they may enjoy by private contract. It is no uncommon thing, in the preſent times, for the matrimonial bargain to be made ſo, as that the wife ſhall retain the ſole and abſolute power of enjoying and diſpoſing of her own fortune, in the ſame manner as if ſhe were not married; by which inequitable bargain, the huſband is debarred from enjoying any of the rights of matrimony, except the perſon of his wife. But this is not all: if the wife, too, were curtailed in her privileges, the bargain would be in ſome degree equitable: this, however, is ſo far from being the caſe, that it is quite the reverſe; the huſband becomes thereby liable to pay all the debts which his wife may burden him with, even though ſhe have abundance of her own to anſwer that purpoſe; he is alſo obliged to maintain her, though her circumſtances be more opulent than his; and if he die before her, ſhe has a right to one-third of his real eſtate, and to whatever is cuſtomary for widows to have out of his perſonals; while, if ſhe

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die before him, he is not entitled to the value of one ſingle halfpenny, unleſs ſhe has deviſed it to him by will. Theſe are obvious diſadvantages on the part of the huſband; but, what is ſtill worſe, ſuch a bargain overturns the order of things, and deſtroys that authority, which nature and the laws of this country give a man over his wife, and that obedience and ſubjection which the rules of the goſpel preſcribe in the deportment of a wife toward her huſband.

Privileges of widows by our laws.

SUCH are the privileges and immunities which the Britiſh women derive from marriage, and which they enjoy from the moment that they enter into that ſtate; but there are others of a poſthumous nature, and theſe are only reſerved for them if they ſurvive their huſbands. When a woman, on her entrance into matrimony, gives up her fortune to the power and diſcretion of her huſband; or, if ſhe has no fortune, when, through a long and tedious courſe of years, ſhe joins her own management, labour, and induſtry to his; nothing can be more reaſonable, than that ſhe ſhould be provided for, in caſe of his dying before her. It would be a capital defect in the laws of civil

CHAP. XXXI.

ſociety, to leave this proviſion altogether in the power of individuals, by whom it might frequently be diſregarded or neglected, and the widows even of ſuch huſbands as had died in affluence, left to experience all the hardſhips of want and poverty; to prevent which, the law of this country has wiſely ordered, that every widow ſhall have a reaſonable dower out of the effects or eſtates of her deceaſed huſband, even though there was no marriage-ſettlement, or though, in ſuch ſettlement, no dower was ſtipulated to the wife.

DOWERS, as it is ſuppoſed, were firſt introduced into England by the Daniſh kings, and into Denmark, by Swein, the father of our Canute the Great, who beſtowed on the Daniſh ladies this privilege, as a grateful acknowledgment of their having parted with their jewels to ranſom him from captivity, when taken priſoner by the Vandals. Dower out of lands was unknown among the Anglo-Saxons; for, by the laws of king Edward, the widow of any one who dies, is directed to be ſupported entirely out of his perſonal eſtate; but afterwards, a widow became entitled to a ſhare

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in one-half of the lands of her deceaſed huſband, ſo long as ſhe remained *chaſte and unmarried;* conditions, which ſeem anciently to have been annexed to all dowers in this country; on a ſuppoſition, perhaps, that the dread of falling into poverty would be the ſtrongeſt inducement to continence, and that if ſhe married another huſband, all the obligations which bound the eſtates and effects of the former to maintain her, from that moment ceaſed to exiſt. Such were the conditions upon which dowers were enjoyed ſome ages after they were firſt inſtituted; but theſe conditions were afterward only required of a widow, when her huſband left any children; and in time they fell entirely into diſuſe; ſo that at preſent a widow may claim her dower, whether ſhe is chaſte and unmarried or otherwiſe; but no woman can claim her dower, who was not actually the wife of a man at the time of his deceaſe. A divorce, therefore, from the chains of matrimony takes away all right to a dower; but a divorce only from bed and board, although for the crime of adultery, has no ſuch effect. A woman who runs away from her huſband, and lives with an adulterer, loſes her right to dower, unleſs the huſband

CHAP. XXXI.

is reconciled to, and takes her back. As every foreigner is, by the laws of England, incapable of holding lands, therefore the wife who is an alien is entitled to no dower out of the lands of her husband. The wife of him who commits high-treason is entitled to no dower; nor the wife of an ideot; for an ideot, being incapable of consenting to any contract, cannot lawfully marry; and therefore all the rights which women acquire by marriage are nugatory in the case of her who is joined to an ideot.

BEFORE marriage-settlements came so much into fashion, the dower which was assigned by the law, or with which the husband endowed the wife at the time of marriage, was the only security she had for a maintenance, in case she became a widow. Respecting dower, there are in certain places particular customs, which set aside the operations of the law in the districts where they prevail. In some places, custom allots to the widow no less than the whole of her husband's lands. In others more moderate, it gives her only the half, and in others only a quarter. Anciently, the most common method of settling the dower of the wife was,

was, by publicly endowing her at the church-door, in the preſence of all the company who were aſſembled at the marriage, with the whole, or ſuch quantity of his lands as the huſband thought proper to beſtow. When the wife was endowed with the whole, we have ſome authorities to believe the huſband made uſe of theſe words: "With all "my lands and tenements I thee endow." When he endowed her with a part only, he gave a ſpecific deſcription of ſuch part, that no doubt might remain as to its ſituation or extent. But when he endowed her with perſonal property only, then he uſed to ſay, "With all my worldly goods I thee endow;" a ſpeech, which, being ſtill preſerved in our marriage-ritual, ſhews how fond we are of continuing forms, even after the reaſons which gave birth to them are totally extinct.

THE dower of a widow was formerly neither ſubject to tolls nor taxes, nor could even the king ſeize on it for a debt due to the crown; but this privilege, being found greatly to diminiſh the public revenue, was at laſt diſcontinued. At this day, however, the dower of a widow cannot be ſeized by the creditors of her huſband. For it would be

CHAP. XXXI

be unjuſt, that ſhe ſhould not be entitled to an equivalent of her fortune, or a recompence for her labour and care, as well as the creditors to payment of their money. Beſides the dotal right to a life-rent of one-third of the huſband's real eſtate, which is commonly allowed by law, where the cuſtom of the manor or place does not determine it otherwiſe, when a huſband lends money in the name of himſelf and his wife, if the wife ſurvive him, and there be enough beſides this money to pay his lawful debts, the wife is entitled to it. No widow can be endowed out of copyhold lands, unleſs by the local cuſtom of the manor, nor can ſhe have any caſtle, or place of defence, as her dower; for ſhe is conſidered as incapable of managing it, ſo as to make it anſwer the purpoſes for which it was intended.

As the dower aſſigned either by the common law or by the ſpecial cuſtom of the place, was frequently conſidered by the contracting parties as too great or too little, the preſent times have hardly left any thing to run in that channel, the parties thinking it better to ſtipulate and agree between themſelves on a ſpecific quantity of land or money, which

which is, previous to the marriage, ſettled upon the wife by way of jointure, and which effectually takes away all her right to any dower. The jointure, thus legally ſettled, is ſtill more inviolable to the wife than her dower. It cannot be touched by the creditors of the huſband. And though a dower be forfeited by the huſband being guilty of high-treaſon, a jointure is not. Every jointure muſt be made to the wife, for the term of her own natural life; if made for the life of another perſon, it is not legal, and ſhe may refuſe it, and claim the dower which the common law will aſſign her. When a jointure is made to the wife before marriage, ſhe cannot refuſe it, and claim her dower in its ſtead, as ſhe is conſidered as having conſented to it, while in a free and independent ſtate. But if the jointure was made after the marriage, ſhe may refuſe it, and have a right to a dower, as ſhe is then conſidered as having been obliged to give her conſent by the impulſe and coercion of her huſband. If a huſband ſettle upon his wife a jointure that ſhall be of a certain yearly value, and it fall ſhort of it, ſhe may commit waſte, ſo far as to make up her deficiency, though prohibited from ſo doing in the deed

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CHAP. XXXI.

of ſettlement; for it is but juſtice, that the widow ſhould have to the full extent of what was intended her by her huſband. The widow muſt have a right to enter upon her jointure immediately on the death of her huſband; and if any ſubſequent period is fixed for it, ſhe may claim her dower in preference.

BEFORE the time of William the Conqueror, when a widow married within the year, ſhe forfeited her dower, or jointure; but that cuſtom long ſince fell into diſuſe, and at preſent the law does not preſcribe any time in which ſhe ſhall not re-marry: cuſtom, however, fixes a kind of infamy upon her who takes another huſband, before ſhe has dedicated a decent time to grief and mourning for the laſt.

Diſadvantages of women.

WHAT we have hitherto mentioned reſpecting the women of Great-Britain, has chiefly regarded theſe privileges and immunities which are eſtabliſhed to them by law, or conceded to them by cuſtom; but as this long liſt of privileges is, on the other hand, contraſted with many diſadvantages, which are neceſſary, in civil ſociety, to put the two ſexes nearly on an equal footing with each

each other, let us turn the other ſide of the picture, and take a view of theſe alſo.

Women hardly allowed any power or management of affairs.

In Britain, we allow a woman to ſway our ſceptre, but by law and cuſtom we debar her from every other government but that of her own family, as if there were not a public employment between that of ſuperintending the kingdom, and the affairs of her own kitchen, which could be managed by the genius and capacity of woman. We neither allow women to officiate at our altars, to debate in our councils, nor to fight for us in the field; we ſuffer them not to be members of our ſenate, to practiſe any of the learned profeſſions, nor to concern themſelves much with our trades and occupations. We exerciſe nearly a perpetual guardianſhip over them, both in their virgin and their married ſtate; and ſhe who, having laid a huſband in the grave, enjoys an independent fortune, is almoſt the only woman among us who can be called free. Thus excluded from every thing which can give them conſequence, they derive the greater part of the power which they enjoy, from their charms; and theſe, when joined to ſenſibility, often fully compenſate, in this

CHAP. XXXI.

respect, for all the disadvantages they are laid under by law and custom.

Allowed their property with many limitations.

As the possession of property is one of the most valuable of all political blessings, and generally carries the possession of power and authority along with it; one of the most peculiar disadvantages in the condition of our women is, their being postponed to all males in the succession to the inheritance of landed estates, and generally allowed much smaller shares than the men, even of the money and effects of their fathers and ancestors, when this money or those effects are given them in the lifetime of their parents, or devised to them by will; for otherwise, that is, if the father dies intestate, they share equally with sons in all personal property. When an estate, in default of male heirs, descends to the daughters, the common custom of England is, that the eldest shall not, in the same manner as an eldest son, inherit the whole, but all the daughters shall have an equal share in it. Westmoreland, however, and some other places, are exceptions to this general rule, and the eldest daughter, there, succeeds to the whole of the land in preference to all the other sisters.

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CHAP. XXXI.

Poſtponed to males in the inheritance of eſtates.

In ſome ancient ſtates, where the women had attained a conſiderable degree of importance, the right of inheritance from an anceſtor devolved equally upon the males and females. Among the Greeks and Romans, however, from whom all Europe at firſt derived the origin of its laws, the ſons ſucceeded in preference to the daughters. In France, and every other kingdom where the feudal ſyſtem was introduced, women where totally excluded from the inheritance of the feudal lands, becauſe the baron, of whom ſuch lands were held, required a military tenant, who ſhould take the field with him when occaſion required; and women being incapable of this ſervice, were alſo incapable of ſucceeding to ſuch eſtates as required it. This rule was ſtrictly adhered to in England for ſome ages after the time of William the Conqueror, who firſt introduced the feudal ſyſtem among us; but in proceſs of time, when it became cuſtomary to levy money on the tenants, inſtead of their perſonal attendance in the field, it became alſo cuſtomary to allow women to inherit, in failure of male iſſue. We have already obſerved, that formerly the kings of this country might levy an aid on the ſubjects

CHAP. XXXI.

for the marriage of their eldeſt daughters. The great barons exerciſed the ſame power over their tenants, and on the marriage of their eldeſt daughters, obliged each tenant to pay what amounted to about five per cent. of his yearly income. But this was only a ſmall part of the oppreſſion theſe tenants laboured under. If any of them preſumed to give his daughter in marriage without the conſent of his lord, he was liable to an action for defrauding the lord of his property, as the lord had a right to chuſe her a huſband, and to make that huſband pay a fine or premium, for providing him with a wife. But beſides this, it is believed, that the lord claimed a right of a more extraordinary nature, that of enjoying the wife of his tenant the firſt night; a claim which, however improbable it may ſeem to us, is not altogether incredible, when we conſider the exorbitant abuſe of power which marked with ſo much infamy the times we are ſpeaking of.

But beſides theſe laws, which for the moſt part operate ſo as to hinder the fair ſex from getting poſſeſſion of any conſiderable property, the laws of marriage again diveſt

CHAP. XXXI.

Operation of the laws of marriage in diveſting them of property.

diveſt them of ſuch property as they really are in poſſeſſion of. By marriage, all the goods and chattels which belong to the woman become veſted in the huſband, and he has the ſame power over them as ſhe had while they were her ſole and abſolute property. When the wife, however, is poſſeſſed of a real eſtate in land, the power which the huſband acquires over it is not ſo extenſive, he only gains a right to the rents and profits ariſing out of it during the continuance of the marriage; but if a living child is born to him, though it ſhould die in a very ſhort time, he becomes, in that caſe, tenant for life, by the courteſy of the country. If there happens to be no child, then at the demiſe of the wife the eſtate goes to her heirs at law. But the property of her goods and chattels devolves upon the huſband, who has the ſole and abſolute power of diſpoſing of them according to his pleaſure.

EVERY married woman is conſidered as a minor, and cannot do any deed which affects her real or perſonal property, without the conſent of her huſband; if ſhe does any ſuch deed, it is not valid, and the huſband may

CHAP. XXXI.

may claim the property of what ſhe diſpoſed of, as if no ſuch diſpoſal had been made. As a married woman cannot diſpoſe of her property while living, ſo neither does the law give her that power at her death. In the ſtatute of wills, ſhe is expreſsly prohibited from deviſing land, and even from bequeathing goods and chattels without the leave of her huſband; becauſe all ſuch goods and chattels are, without any limitation, his ſole and abſolute property; whether they were ſuch as the wife brought along with her at the marriage, or ſuch as ſhe acquired by her labour and induſtry afterward.

THE laws of this country not only deny to a married woman the power of making a will, but alſo diſſolve and render of no effect upon her marriage, every will ſhe may have made while ſingle; and even when a ſingle woman who has made her will, marries, and her huſband dies, the will which ſhe had made, being invalidated by her marriage, does not recover its validity by the huſband's death. If a huſband and wife are jointly poſſeſſed of houſes and lands, which are ſettled upon the ſurvivor, if the huſband deſtroys

ſtroys himſelf, his wife ſhall not have the half that belonged to him; it becomes the property of the crown, as a compenſation for the loſs of a ſubject. When a huſband and wife agree to live ſeparate, and the huſband covenants to give her ſo much a year; if at any time he offers to be reconciled and to take her home, upon her refuſal, he ſhall not any longer be obliged to pay her a ſeparate maintenance. If a legacy be paid to a married woman who lives ſeparate from her huſband, the huſband may file a bill in chancery to oblige the perſon who paid it to his wife, to pay it again to him with intereſt. If a wife prove inſane, the huſband, as her proper guardian, has a right to confine her in his own houſe, or in a private mad-houſe; but ſhould the huſband not be inclined to releaſe her when her ſenſes return, a court of equity will give her that relief which the huſband denies. The power which a huſband has over the perſon of his wife, does not ſeem perfectly ſettled by the laws of this country; it is nevertheleſs certain, that ſhe is not to go abroad, nor to leave his houſe and family, without his approbation; but what coercive methods he may make uſe of to reſtrain her from ſo doing, or whether he may

CHAP. XXXI.

may proceed any farther than to admonition and denying her money, ſeems a point not altogether agreed upon.

When a wife is injured in her perſon or property, ſo limited is her power, that ſhe cannot bring an action for redreſs without the conſent and approbation of her huſband, nor any way but in his name. If, however, ſuch huſband has abjured the realm, or is baniſhed from it, he is conſidered as dead in law, and his wife in that caſe may ſue for redreſs in her own name and authority. When a huſband and wife are outlawed, and the wife appears in court without her huſband, ſhe cannot have the outlawry taken off, becauſe ſhe is conſidered only as a part of the object againſt which the outlawry was iſſued. When a huſband becomes bankrupt, and is ſuſpected of having dealt fraudulently with his creditors, the commiſſioners of the bankruptcy may ſummon his wife before them, examine her concerning his affairs, and commit her to priſon if ſhe either refuſes to anſwer ſuch queſtions as are put to her, or anſwers them in a deceitful manner. When a widow is endowed of certain lands and tenements,

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and ſells them, the heir at law may not only recover them of the purchaſer, but alſo refuſe to reſtore them back to the widow, or to pay her any dower in their ſtead. By the laws of England, a father only is empowered to exerciſe a rightful authority over his children; no power is conferred on the mother, only ſo far as to oblige theſe children to conſider her as a perſon entitled to duty and a reverential regard. CHAP. XXXI.

Of the puniſhments inflicted on women.

BESIDES the limitations and reſtrictions which the laws of this country have laid upon the fair ſex, it is neceſſary for the good of ſociety, that puniſhments ſhould be annexed to their crimes, as well as to theſe committed by us; in equal degrees of delinquency, thoſe puniſhments are for the moſt part nearly the ſame in either ſex, a few caſes, however, are excepted. A woman guilty of high-treaſon is not puniſhed in the ſame manner as a man; for this crime, a man is condemned to be hung up, taken down alive, his bowels taken out, and his body divided into quarters. A woman is condemned to be drawn to the place of execution, and there burnt to death. Condemnation to the flames is obliging the criminal

CHAP. XXXI.

to ſuffer a death of all others the moſt tremendous and terrible, and has been ſeldom inflicted in Europe but by bigoted prieſts and relentleſs inquiſitors. The laws of England, however, reckoning high-treaſon and the murder of a huſband equal to hereſy, condemn to the flames her who is guilty of either, ſuppoſing that a puniſhment too exemplary cannot be held out to deter from the commiſſion of ſuch unnatural crimes. In Scotland, the woman who murders her huſband is only hanged as a common felon. In all the capital puniſhments of the ſex, the laws of Britain lay it down as a maxim, that decency is not to be violated. We wiſh the ſame delicacy were obſerved in theſe which are only intended for the reformation of the culprit; but whipping at the cart's tail, as practiſed over all England, is often a ſhameful inſtance of the contrary.

In the protectorſhip of Cromwell, wilful adultery was capital, and keeping a brothel, or repeatedly committing fornication, were felony without benefit of clergy. At preſent, adultery is only puniſhable in the ſpiritual court by certain penances, and in the civil courts by divorce and loſs of dower.

Adultery

Adultery was in Scotland for ſeveral centuries puniſhable by death; and even Mary, queen of Scots, a lady, if not belied by fame, no way remarkable for conjugal fidelity, publiſhed ſome of the ſevereſt edicts againſt her ſiſterhood of ſinners; but theſe ſeverities, in Scotland as well as in England, were laid aſide, and the laws reſpecting adultery, are now in both kingdoms nearly upon an equal footing. For a variety of the other crimes committed by the ſex againſt chaſtity, decency, and decorum, the laws have hardly deviſed any puniſhment, leaving the unhappy delinquent to the ſtings of conſcience, the loſs of character, the contempt of the virtuous, and the vengeance of offended heaven.

FINIS.